

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

Beijing Review

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LARGER ENTERPRISES: THE PILLAR OF CHINA'S INDUSTRY

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Jiang Zemin on Current
Economic Problems



Bird Island in Qinghai Lake

Photo by Huang Guang

BEIJING REVIEW

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COVER: The Oil Refinery of the Beijing Yanshan Petrochemical Works.
by Xu Xiangjun and Xue Chao

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Jiang Calls for Harmonious Development of Economy

● Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin, at the recent Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, delivered an important speech, in which he called for the development of the economy in a sustained, stable and harmonious way (p. 17).

Chinese Premier Stresses Need for Stability

● In an exclusive interview with a West German newspaper, Chinese Premier Li Peng answered a wide range of questions, including China's reform situation, the treatment of former Party chief Zhao Ziyang and China's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union (p. 12).

A Driving Force of China's Economy

● After 40 years of hard work, China's large and medium-sized enterprises, most state-owned, have become a driving force of the national economy. The decade-long economic reform gave them a shot in their arm but whether the ongoing reform is successful will depend, in turn, on good management of the enterprises (p. 29).

Qian Qichen on Sino-African Relations

● Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen recently spoke to the magazine *Chinafrique* about his visit to six southern African countries during the summer. The foreign minister explained how Sino-African co-operation has contributed to world peace and development (p. 6).

True Features of "Democratic Fighters" Exposed

● Wuer Kaixi, Yan Jiaqi, Fang Lizhi and others who directed and plotted the turmoil and rebellion in Beijing have been extolled by some Westerners as "democratic fighters" and "political elites." No more than scoundrels attempting to undermine the People's Republic, however, they have become pariahs dependent on the pleasure of others (p. 23).

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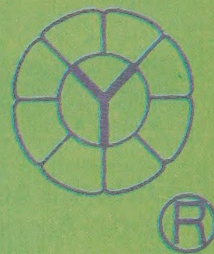
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The Deplorable Actions of the Nobel Committee

by Hua Zi

On October 5, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee announced in Oslo, Norway that the 1989 Nobel peace prize would be given to the Dalai Lama. This mistaken decision, evidently tainted with a strong political hue, naturally meets with condemnation and protests from the Chinese people of all nationalities and patriotic overseas Chinese. At the subsequent forum held in Lhasa, public figures of the Tibet Autonomous Region unanimously agreed that the committee's action was wanton interference in China's internal affairs and open support for secessionists. This can never be tolerated by any of the Chinese people including Tibetans.

Far-sighted commentators of the international press circles have commented that the Nobel peace prize had become an "ideological weapon" used by imperialist countries to impose their ideology and concept of "peace" on the people fighting for national independence and socialism. Far from generating any positive effect towards world peace, this practice was likely to set a "dangerous" precedent.

According to the stated purpose of the Nobel peace prize, the honour is awarded to those who have done their best for and made the greatest contribution to the "concord and goodwill between nations." But what has the Dalai Lama done in this regard? In 1959 he fled Tibet after the traitorous armed rebellion launched by a handful of upper-class reactionaries was put down. Over the past 30 years since, the Tibetan people, supported and assisted by the country's other nationalities, have engaged in the construction of their homeland, making remarkable achievements through self-reliant, hard work. During this period the Dalai Lama, living in exile, has made no contributions to Tibet's development and construction. On the contrary, since 1987 he has conducted a worldwide propaganda campaign, made statements aimed at splitting the motherland and connived with and supported secessionists inside and outside Tibet to frequently stir up riots and disturb Tibet's social peace and tranquillity, thus seriously harming the interests of the Tibetan people. Recently, the Tibet Autonomous Region cracked a case of special agents sent from abroad; the persons involved confessed they were dispatched by the Dalai Lama and his "government in exile." Giving the Nobel peace prize to such a political exile long engaged in the activities to undermine the unity of all the nationalities of China and split the motherland is nothing short of a deplorable act for the Nobel Peace Prize Committee.

The committee said in its award communique that the Dalai Lama has always opposed the use of violence in his struggle for the liberation of Tibet and stood for a peaceful settlement. What sort of Tibet does the Dalai Lama want to "liberate"? It is well known that Tibet has been an inseparable part of Chinese territory since the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). In 1949, when the People's Republic of China was founded, Tibet was still a feudal

society based on the serf system, similar to that of medieval Europe. Politically, it was a theocratic dictatorship of monastic autocrats and nobles; economically, it was a monopoly economy of the feudal lords, based on a manorial system, in which serfs and slaves accounted for over 95 percent of the population. They not only had no means of production, but were themselves and their children the property of the serf-owners. It wasn't until 1951 when Tibet was peacefully liberated and 1959, when social reform began in Tibet, that the million serfs and slaves were freed of the oppression and exploitation of the feudal serf system. They, together with the people of all nationalities of the country, embarked on the broad socialist road. Such progress and development in Tibet over the past 30 years can't be denied even by the Dalai Lama; it is, likewise, not difficult for those with some historical knowledge and political common sense to appreciate this basic fact.

Those who issued the peace prize on the ground that the Dalai Lama was "fighting for the liberation of Tibet," are attempting nothing more than to stir up disturbances in Tibet, separate the region from China and reduce it to dependency on capitalism. Isn't it deplorable to make use of the Nobel peace prize to bolster and prop up one who wants to split the motherland and to oppose the socialist system chosen and cherished by the Tibetan people?

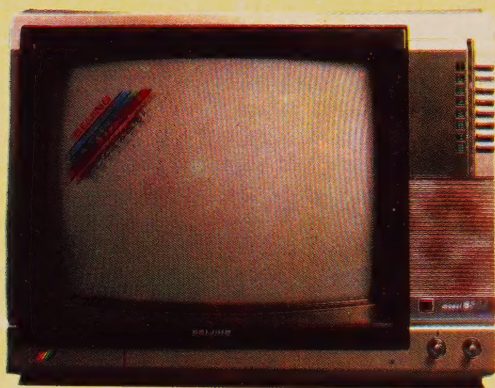
China is a united country of 56 nationalities. As one of its autonomous regions, Tibet is part of China, just as Finnmark County and other counties inhabited by the Lapp people belong to Norway. Would the gentlemen of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee give the peace prize to a Lapp who attempts to separate Finnmark and other areas from Norway? Is it a contribution to the cause of world peace to award the peace prize to someone who tries to split his nation and encourage the sowing of the seeds of dissension and hatred between nationalities?

In the history of the awarding of the Nobel peace prize, the honour was twice bestowed on personages of socialist countries. However, these two prize winners were also so-called political dissidents. When the decision was made to give the peace prize to the Dalai Lama, Egil Aavik, chairman of the committee, said that his committee "purposefully" tries to "exert positive influence" on political problems through the awarding of peace prize. Commending the Dalai Lama, he claimed, was "a kind of warning to the Beijing government." The motives are crystal clear. It would be more appropriate to call this peace prize a "prize for interference in the internal affairs of another country" and a "prize for undermining China's internal peace." Turning the prize into a tool for achieving certain political objectives and for wantonly interfering in another country's internal affairs will inevitably be recorded as the most disgraceful act in the history of the Nobel peace prize committee. □

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NPC, CPPCC Protest Against US Sanctions

The Foreign Affairs Committees of China's National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) have issued statements censuring an amendment adopted by the US Congress on sanctions against China.

A statement issued by the NPC Foreign Affairs Committee November 20 urged the US Congress to immediately stop everything that constitutes interference in China's internal affairs, hurts the national feelings of the Chinese people and poisons Sino-American relations. It urged that the US Congress revoke the amendment on sanctions against China and work to bring Sino-American relations back to normal at an early date.

Approved at the 14th meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Seventh National People's Congress, the statement said that if the US Congress wilfully goes further down the anti-China road, it should be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

The statement pointed out that on November 15 and 16, the US House of Representatives and Senate, in disregard of repeated objections and representations by the Chinese government, respectively adopted an amendment on sanctions against China to the State Department authorization bill. The amendment wantonly distorts the facts about China's efforts to end the turmoil and quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing in June and maliciously vilifies and attacks the Chinese government. It also sets forth a series of measures of economic sanctions against China.

"Hereby," the statement said, "we express our strong condemnation and lodge a strong protest

against this hegemonic behaviour of the US Congress which grossly interferes in China's internal affairs, wilfully trampling on the basic norms governing international relations."

The disgusting performance of power politics by the US Congress only serves to reveal its own arrogance and prejudice, and helps people see clearly the stubborn position of hostility to China and its people on the part of certain forces in the US Congress, the statement said.

The people of every country have the right to choose their own social system and development road suited to their own national conditions, it added. No country has the right to impose its own social system and values on others, or make irresponsible remarks about and flagrantly interfere in matters which are entirely their internal affairs, the statement continued. "We never interfere in any other country's internal affairs, nor will we ever allow others to interfere in our own internal affairs."

The statement told the members of the US Congress that the Chinese people who have already stood up will never yield to foreign pressure. The attempt to exert pressure on China through economic sanctions is totally futile. Anyone who sets out to hurt others is bound to end up hurting himself.

The statement said that the Chinese people do not want to see such grave difficulties in Sino-American relations, which are entirely due to deep involvement and gross interference by the United States in China's internal affairs and its sanctions against China.

Sino-American relations are at a crossroads now, it said. The resumption of normal relations and their further development will contribute to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole, and conform to the fundamental interests of both China and the United States.

However, the statement pointed out, only strict observance by both sides of the three Sino-US joint communiques and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence will make this possible.

In a similar statement issued November 22, the CPPCC's Foreign Affairs Committee pointed out that in matters of state sovereignty and national dignity, China has never yielded to pressure from outside and will never barter away principles.

The sanctions will also harm the interests of the United States and run against the wishes of its people, it said.

The difficulties existing in the Sino-American relations were created by the United States. Therefore, it said, where this relationship should go depends entirely on the US side. □

Positive Reporting by Media Stressed

A senior official of the Communist Party of China (CPC) stressed November 25 that mass media should adhere to the principle of publicizing positive things first.

Li Ruihuan, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central

Committee, stressed this is the guideline for socialist mass media.

Li made these remarks at a national symposium on the work of mass media attended by the editors-in-chief of the Party newspapers in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous

regions.

He explained that to adhere to the principle means publicizing accurately and timely the Party's line, principles and policies and reflecting the mainstream of social life so as to encourage people in their onward march and create public opinions conducive to political stability.

Li said that Party spirit should be stressed in news reporting. "Our mass media belongs to the Party and the socialist country," he said, adding that since the Communist Party is the representative of the interests of the people, the mass media, which is the organ of the Party, is naturally the organ of the people.

Li said that to put positive propaganda first means to report and publicize those things that will encourage people to develop the social productive forces.

He also urged mass media to report and disseminate the things that will encourage people to adhere to the Four Cardinal Princi-

ples and the policy of opening to the outside world, to strengthen socialist spiritual civilization, and promote world peace and development.

"In short, all the things that will encourage people to strive for the prosperity and strength of the nation, the happiness of the people and social progress are what we mean by positive things and should be reported," he said.

Li said the mass media should give more coverage to the achievements of the people, especially those made in the process of modernization, reform and opening to the outside world during the past 10 years. "It is particularly necessary at present when we are facing temporary difficulties and some people have lost their confidence," he said.

Li added that to put positive propaganda first does not mean there should be no reports of a critical nature. However, he emphasized that reporting on negative things could only be in the secondary position. □

Chinese Leaders Meet Nyerere

There will be no change whatsoever in China's policy of opening to the outside world. Rather, China hopes to accelerate the opening, Chinese President Yang Shangkun said November 22.

While meeting with Julius Nyerere, chairman of the South Commission and chairman of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party, Yang said China is "firmly and fearlessly" taking its own road. "We are confident that we can do our own thing well."

The economic sanctions that some Western countries have imposed against China will also harm themselves, Yang said, adding that he believes the sanctions cannot last long.

"Some people are trying to close China's door from the out-

side, but the door certainly cannot be closed," Yang said.

Nyerere, who visited China November 17-23 at the invitation of the Chinese government, ex-

pressed his satisfaction with the development of the Tanzanian-Chinese friendship.

He said that as a big third-world nation, a strong China means a strong third world. He wished China constant progress.

While talking with Yao Yilin, acting Chinese premier when Li Peng was visiting Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal, Nyerere gave an account of the South Commission, which he said was established in July 1987. It aims at strengthening South-South co-operation, promoting South-North dialogue and reforming the existing international economic order.

To seek self-development, Nyerere stressed, the South nations must practise self-reliance. They should also intensify unity and co-operation among themselves, namely, South-South co-operation. As well, dialogue should be strengthened between the South and the North, he noted.

Nyerere added that the South Commission will conclude its work after submitting its final report next spring. But he said he has a tentative plan to set up a secretariat of the South Commission to continue its work.

Yao briefed Nyerere on China's domestic situation. China

Chinese Acting Premier Yao Yilin holds a talk on November 21 with Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Tanzania Revolutionary Party.

LIU JIANGUO



has learned from 10 years' experience that in order to speed up economic growth it is necessary to open to the outside world, he said. However, he added, it is also necessary to strengthen self-reliance while implementing the open policy. China practises the principle of relying mainly on its own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary.

China's reform, Yao said, entails self-improvement and development of the socialist system, while avoiding capitalist practices.

At a banquet he gave for Nyerere, Yao stressed that developing countries should rely on their own to increase South-South co-operation and promote North-South dialogue in order to redress the unfair and unreasonable international economic order.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, more and more defects have cropped up in the existing international economic system, posing serious impediments to developing countries, he said.

China remains committed to the attainment of common development of third world countries through mutual assistance, unity and co-operation, Yao added.

Nyerere said third world countries must develop in a manner which allows the people of each country to shape their own future — to remain Chinese or African or Latin American — and to be governed according to the system they themselves have chosen as best and most appropriate for them and their circumstances.

There is no hope for most of the countries of the South unless they work together, Nyerere stressed. By working together in solidarity they can influence the decision-making processes of the world.

General Secretary Jiang Zemin met with Nyerere on his last day in Beijing. Jiang said that

China will continue to learn advanced scientific technology and managerial experience from the West but will resolutely resist the decadent stuff of capitalism.

Development of the economy and science and technology in the present-day world has brought about closer contacts among various countries, Jiang said. It is impossible for any country to close itself to international communication.

In relation to what is happening in some countries, Jiang said that China abides by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China does not interfere in other countries' internal affairs, nor will it allow other countries to interfere in its internal affairs.

Deng Xiaoping also called on his old friend Nyerere at Beijing's Diaoyutai State Guest-house. □

US Bill on Student Visas Censured

China has lodged a strong protest with US Congress, which adopted an emergency Chinese immigration relief act in November.

Meeting by appointment on November 24 with Charge D'affaires of the US Embassy in China B. Lynn Pascoe, Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Liu Huaqiu spoke strongly against the bill approved by the US House of Representatives on November 19 and by the US Senate two days later.

Liu stated that under this bill, the two-year home country service requirement would be waived in the case of all the Chinese studying abroad on J-1 visas.

The Chinese government expressed the strongest indignation and lodged a protest with US Congress because the bill would seriously impair Sino-US educational exchanges and further deteriorate Sino-US relations, the vice-foreign minister noted.

"The adoption of the bill by the US Congress is not only a direct violation of international practice but is also a serious breach of a bilateral agreement," he said.

While negotiating student exchange programmes in recent years, both China and the United States have repeatedly reaffirmed the mutual understanding that each country has the obligation to encourage its students to return home to serve their country upon graduation, according to a report from Xinhua News Agency.

The report said the act waived Chinese students' home residence requirement under the pretext of "protecting" Chinese students from being "persecuted" after they return to China.

The report cites the Chinese authorities as saying that more than 300 Chinese students and visiting scholars have returned to China after finishing their study in the United States, and more Chinese students have had their vacations or made business trips to China since the quelling of the counter-revolutionary rebellion in June.

Those Chinese students, though some of them had participated in demonstrations in the United States last summer, received warm welcomes when they returned to China. None of them has been persecuted in any form, the report said.

"The US Congress has thoroughly revealed itself, by this action, as a protagonist of power politics. The legislative basis it has set forth is also extremely absurd and therefore absolutely unacceptable to us," said Liu. □

Li Peng on Domestic and World Issues

Chinese Premier Li Peng was interviewed on November 11 by Manfred Schell, chief editor of *Die Welt* (The World), a newspaper published in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Economic Development Top Priority

When asked where China was heading, the premier replied that China was a developing country that followed the socialist system. "China's top priority is to develop the economy," Li said. "A three-phase plan has been drawn up. We'll try to realize the initial phase of modernization by the end of this century and let the people lead a better-off life. In another 30 or 50 years, we'll reach the level of medium-developed countries. To that end, China needs a peaceful international environment and a stable political situation at home."

Asked about China's policies on reform and opening to the outside world, Li said: "China's reform is a self-improvement of the socialist system. Economically, a combination of planned economy and market regulation will not lead the country to capitalism. Some people now say that China is backing away from reform and opening simply because they do not know what China's reform is really about. Their criterion for judging the reform is based on the following: If market forces take a large proportion in China's economy, they think that China's reform is going ahead. But they pay no heed to whether the economy develops after the reform. This is a big misunderstanding."

Foreign Investment Protected

The Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided that China's current reform measures must maintain stability and continuity, and be improved constantly. "This is our basic line," the premier said. "Laws and regulations governing the absorption of foreign capital in China's construction remain effective and China will ensure that they are observed."

China has some economic difficulties, but it is fully capable of repaying its foreign debts, the premier said. "It won't do for me to say that there is no risk in investing in China. China's political situation is stable and its economy is constantly developing. The policies of China's economic reform and opening to the outside world remain unchanged. Of course, what I have said may not give them much comfort. It is important to look at actual deeds."

He said he recently visited a large Sino-Japanese venture that produces kinescopes in Beijing. It began operation after 22 months of construction, not long after the quelling of the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing in June. "If any entrepreneur or any country does not believe that there is a good investment climate in China," he said, "please go and visit the factory."

The premier added, "From now on, we will give some guidance to those who come to invest in China according to the industrial policies we have formulated and inform them of what is in demand on the market and what is not."

Rebellion Crackdown Justified

The premier also gave a detailed reply to questions about the counter-revolutionary rebellion in early June in Beijing. "The counter-revolutionary rebellion should be viewed in a historical and over-all perspective," Li said. "China has chosen the socialist system because it suits its circumstances and will enable China to become prosperous and remain stable. The turmoil and the rebellion had threatened our country's security and the future of China's socialist system. Therefore, we finally had to take resolute measures to check it and put it down. It was correct to do so for the sake of defending the socialist system and the security of the republic. The correctness of the action will become much clearer when viewed several years hence."

"The turmoil earlier this year could have been settled earlier," he continued. "However, because of a divergence of views among the top leadership and the errors by former General Secretary Zhao Ziyang in supporting the turmoil and splitting the Party, we were unable to solve the problem at its inception."

When asked whether it has been declared that Zhao Ziyang has betrayed the Party, Li replied, "We did not say Zhao Ziyang betrayed the Party. We only said he committed mistakes. If he can correct his mistakes by actual deed, we will welcome it."

"We shall be lenient to and make no investigation of all those who took to the streets, demonstrated or fasted," he added. "That is to say, they will not be disciplined in any way, even

though they broke the law. But they should take time for study, to work out for themselves what they did right and what they did wrong. It will be all right if they raise their understanding through study. It is those who violated the criminal law who will be dealt with and investigated."

The premier also said that the Chinese government hopes France and the United States will maintain their friendship with China and ban the plotters of the turmoil, who have fled China to carry out anti-Chinese government activities in France and the United States. "These are basic norms of international law," he said. "The French Foreign Minister, Roland Dumas, has said they will follow this principle, and I hope they will honour their promise."

On Deng Xiaoping's Resignation

The premier was also asked about the resignation of Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

"Deng Xiaoping has fought for the Chinese revolution and construction for more than 60 years," he said. Deng asked to resign from his last post at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th Party Central Committee, which was held recently in Beijing. "The aim of his resignation is to abolish the system of life-long tenure of the leading posts in China," he added.

Li noted that it is Deng himself who has advocated the abolition of the life-long tenure of leading posts, and he turned theory into practice with his own deeds, thereby setting an example.

The premier said that it is of great importance that Deng aspired to complete retirement from the leading posts while he is

still in good health. At the same time, Li said, Deng also noticed that the political situation in China is stable.

As a statesman who has made tremendous contributions to the Chinese revolution and construction and enjoys high prestige, Deng possesses wisdom and experience still valuable to the Chinese people, Li said.

On Western Countries' Economic Sanctions

"I can predict it's only a matter of time for them to change their attitudes towards China and end their sanctions against China," Li said, regarding economic sanctions against China by Western countries. "Some will go first and others later. We'll wait and see which country will make the first move. The country which does so is brave and praiseworthy."

Western countries, he added, will sooner or later come to understand that to close the door of a big country with a population of 1.1 billion will be good for nobody.

"An isolated China is neither good for China nor for the world," Li said, "We'll never close our door."

Improvement of China's relations with Western countries needs both internal and external factors, he continued. The internal factors refer to a stable political situation and a stable economy in China. China's present political situation is stable, the premier said. China's new collective leadership with Jiang Zemin as its nucleus formed since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Communist Party Central Committee is functioning effectively and properly. Deng Xiaoping's resignation is an indication of stability, he added. In economy, China has worked out a guideline for a sustained, stable and harmonious development so as to enable it to keep a reason-

able development rate for the next dozen years and avoid the occasional overheated economic development. "A stable economy will promote political stability," Li said. "As for external factors, China pursues an independent foreign policy of peace and does not constitute a threat to any other countries and its economy does not constitute a threat to that of any other countries. China is a friend of all."

China's Attitude Towards The Outside World

On Sino-US, Sino-Soviet and Sino-European Community relations, the premier said that China hopes the Sino-US relations will move out of the present impasse. "The initiative to improve these ties lies in the hands of the United States. The ball is on their side of the court."

The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations "does not mean that the relations between the two countries and the two Parties will be restored to the extent of that in the 1950s," Li said. "Conditions in the Soviet Union and China are totally different though both countries follow the socialist system and both are carrying out reforms. As for reforms, the Soviet Union can go its way while China follows its own road. The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is conducive to the stability of the situation in the world and in the Asian-Pacific region, and it will not impede China's relations with other countries."

The relations between China and the European Community are "rather cold because of the sanctions imposed on China by the European Community," he said. "This is not caused by China. I hope statesmen of the European Community will review their policies and take initiatives to improve relations with China. China's doors are open to

them. We noted that member countries of the European Community are not the same in their attitude towards China. We think that Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the government of the Federal Republic of Ger-

many are relatively wise and restrained on that matter."

Finally, Li was requested to comment on German reunification. "China never interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and parties," he said. The issue of Germany is a very sensi-

tive one. The national reunification of Germany will be decided by the two German nations and their people with the prerequisite that it is beneficial to both sides and peace and stability in Europe." □

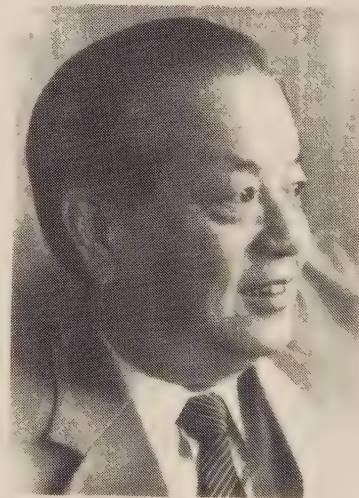
Qian on Sino-African Ties

Last month, reporters from the magazine *Chinafrique* interviewed Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. Qian answered questions about his recent visit to six southern African nations and detailed the contributions Sino-African co-operation has made to international peace and development. Qian also looks forward to Sino-African relations in the 1990s. *Beijing Review* reprints the story.

Chinafrique: Mr. Qian, the 1980s, which are about to end, was a decade of great development in friendly co-operative relations between China and African countries. Would you describe what achievements have been made in recent years, especially this year?

Qian: First of all, the political relations between China and African countries have been further strengthened and the frequent high-level exchange visits continued. Relations between the Communist Party of China and African political parties in power also have made much headway. Second, Sino-African economic ties have assumed a new pattern of flexibility and diversity. Various types of co-operation based on mutual benefit have been introduced including joint ventures and contract engineering enterprises. At the same time, two Chinese cultural centres made their debut in Mauritius and Benin last year.

This year we have seen an increase in political interactions and talks between China and African countries. Leaders of Mali, Burundi, Uganda, Togo, Burkina-Faso, Ghana and Sierra Leone visited China. The Chinese government is helping to supervise the independence process in



Foreign Minister Qian Qichen

CHEN ZONGLIE

Namibia by sending personnel to the United Nations' assistant team. For the first time, China opened a training centre for agricultural technicians from third world countries, especially African countries.

It is worth noting that many African countries showed their understanding of the measures taken by the Chinese government to deal with the political disturbance that occurred in China this spring and early summer. They said that it was China's internal affairs, permitting no foreign interference.

Chinafrique: The government of Liberia announced it was establishing "diplomatic relations" with Taiwan—a province of China that is still governed by the Chinese Nationalist Party. What's your comment on the Taiwan authorities' efforts to create "two Chinas"?

Qian: Recently, Taiwan authorities have been active in seeking "dual recognition" from countries that have diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China by using such dirty tricks as economic aid, loans and dollars. Their "elastic diplomacy" was designed to create "two Chinas." But the Taiwan authorities' goal will not be reached because of the vigilance of African countries.

Chinafrique: What was your main impression during your six-nation visit to southern Africa in August and September?

Qian: I visited six countries: Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia and Mozambique. My travels were aimed at collecting first-hand information about the changing situation in the region and to express the Chinese government's and Chinese people's support for the people of the southern African countries in their just struggles.

The main impression my visit to Africa left on me was that the struggle of the people in southern African countries to ease regional tensions is making progress. The process of Namibian independence has finally begun. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and other patriotic forces of Namibia and frontline countries in southern Africa have tried their best to co-operate with the United Nations in a joint effort to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435 and guarantee free and fair elections and Namibia's independence as scheduled. The Angolan and Mozambican governments have launched active dialogues to end the wars within their borders and restore peace and stability. The frontline countries—Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola—and the Organization of African Unity have put on their agenda the settlement of the South African issue in order to root out the cause of turbulence in the region. The future is good for the southern African region, as the general situation in the region is developing in a direction favourable to peace. The struggle against racism, however, will be long and difficult. It requires that the people in the region and the international community be persistent in their efforts to solve the problem.

Another deep impression I received is that southern Africa is rich in natural resources, has hard-working people and vast potential for development. The people in the region are vigorous in seeking development strategies suited to the conditions of their own countries. As an organization for regional collective self-reliance, the Conference for Southern African Development is now getting rid of South Africa's control and playing a positive role in co-ordinating economic development in the region.

Through my visit I have felt the profound friendship of the African people towards the Chinese people. Our delegation has received a warm and friendly reception from all six countries. All the leaders and colleagues I met noted that Sino-African friendship conforms with the common interests of the Chinese and African people. Therefore, all of us advocate continuous development and expanded co-operation in all fields.

Chinafrica: China and the southern African countries have always supported each other in international affairs. What contributions has this made to the two major tasks of the world today—peace and development?

Qian: In my opinion these contributions involve the three following aspects.

First, China is one of the initiators of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. For many years the relations between China and African countries have developed on the basis of these principles. This is a new type of state relationship which is favourable to the African people's cause of safeguarding their national independence and seeking economic development.

Second, China and the African countries energetically advocate the change of the unreasonable international economic order and settlement of the African debt issue, and demand that serious North-South talks be conducted on the issues. They support each other in struggles for the legitimate rights and interests of developing countries. It is of great significance to launching substantial dialogues and co-operation between the North and South.

Third, China and African countries have actively advocated South-South co-operation. China with its limited economic strength has provided African countries with economic aid

without any political conditions. In recent years China has launched various forms of economic and technological co-operation with African countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. This co-operation is conducive to promoting each other's economic development and is a good form of South-South co-operation.

Chinafrica: Minister Qian, the world soon enters the 1990s. How do you envisage Sino-African relations in the next decade?

Qian: The African continent will finish the task of de-colonization during the last 10 years of this century. However, because the unreasonable international economic order has not changed, the difficulties that the African countries face in their national economies will probably become more serious. China and African countries should further strengthen their unity, co-ordination and co-operation so as to win a fairly long peaceful environment and speed up economic development.

China and the African nations are all third world countries, have had similar historical sufferings and face the same development tasks. Because they have identical national interests, they speak the same language. China will continue to take unity and co-operation with third world countries, including African countries, as the fundamental foothold of its foreign policy. China will, as always, steadfastly support the just struggle of the African countries against hegemony, colonialism and racism. It also will continue to support the efforts with which the African countries overcome their difficulties, rejuvenate their economies and explore the way of development suitable to their own countries. I consider that Sino-African relations are built on a solid basis and have a broad vista of development and huge potential. □

UN Calls for Vietnamese Withdrawal From Kampuchea

by Ren Bei

The United Nations General Assembly has adopted a resolution calling for a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea with a UN-verified Vietnamese withdrawal from the war-torn country and establishment of a quadripartite coalition government under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The resolution, passed November 16 by a 124 to 17 with 12 abstentions, has once again reflected the just position and common desire of most countries and laid bare Hanoi's lies that its troops have totally withdrawn from Kampuchea.

The resolution, drafted by the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), has included the main elements of 10 resolutions adopted by the UN during previous assembly meetings. It called on Viet Nam to end its aggression and military occupation in Kampuchea and let the Kampuchean people have self-determination without interference of foreign countries. The resolution pointed out that the Vietnamese claim of total troop withdrawal from Kampuchea was not valid.

Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea in late 1978 and stationed large numbers of military forces to back the Phnom Penh regime it had installed. On September 26 this year, Viet Nam unilaterally announced its total withdrawal from Kampuchea.

During the UN meeting, the Vietnamese representative delivered a speech in which he made a false report stating that after September there were no Vietnamese soldiers left in Kampuchea. He boasted of the great importance of the Vietnamese withdrawal and he complained that the UN resolution failed to reflect this development.

The Vietnamese representative's speech, however, exposed Viet Nam's true aims. One is to deny its invasion of Kampuchea, which is the essence of the Kampuchean problem, and the other is to evade the two key points in the comprehensive settlement

of the Kampuchean issue—total withdrawal from Kampuchea and the establishment of a four-party coalition government under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk.

Most of the international community regards the Vietnamese withdrawal as a fraud and does not recognize it.

In the general debate on the Kampuchean issue, many representatives expressed their skepticism about Viet Nam's claim of troop withdrawal from Kampuchea. They pointed out that Viet Nam's claim of troop withdrawal without UN verification could not be believed. And because the essence of the Kampuchean issue has not changed, the responsibility still lies with Viet Nam. UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said in his report regarding the Kampuchean situation that he had been informed of the troop withdrawal by the Vietnamese but it had not been verified by valid international organizations, so it could not be included as a fait accompli in the political settlement of the Kampuchean issue.

China's representative Li Luye said at the meeting that the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and the establishment of a quadripartite coalition government are two key aspects of a comprehensive settlement of the question of Kampuchea. He said the two factors—one is dealing with ending the aggression and the other is about removing its consequences—are inseparable and must be solved simultaneously.

Viet Nam, which invaded Kampuchea 11 years ago and created the Kampuchean issue, is now placing all sorts of obstacles in the way of a political settlement. Its attitude is against the international trend towards peaceful settlement of regional disputes. If Viet Nam wants to be trusted by the international community, it must change its attitude and observe the UN resolution for a comprehensive, just and permanent settlement of the Kampuchean issue. □

Developing the Economy in a Sustained, Stable and Harmonious Way

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by CPC General Secretary Jiang Zemin on November 9, 1989 at the Fifth Plenum of the 13th CPC Central Committee.—Ed.

Comrades, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee and the preceding Central Working Conference have been successful. The plenary session has deliberated and adopted the CPC Central Committee's decision on further improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order and deepening the reform. The decision has made a comprehensive analysis of the current economic situation, fully affirmed the achievement in construction and the reform in the past decade, assessed as they are the problems the economic work is facing and proposed the guiding principles, main tasks and basic measures for further improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order and deepening the reform. This will play an important role in bringing our country's national economy out of difficulties and leading it to healthy development.

The plenary session has earnestly discussed Comrade Deng Xiaoping's letter of resignation from the chairmanship of the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission. At the beginning, considering that our country's construction and reform are at a key juncture and that China is facing a complicated international situation, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee thought that the Party needs Comrade Xiaoping to continue to man the steering wheel for us, and we earnestly hoped that he would retire at a later moment. Standing at a historic watershed, from which we are to carry forward the Party's cause and forge ahead into the future, and for the sake of the country's long-term peace and stability, Comrade Xiaoping, after careful consideration, said more than once that his retirement at the moment is most beneficial.



General Secretary Jiang Zemin speaking at the Fifth Plenum of the 13th CPC Central Committee. WUJIGUO

After serious consideration by the comrades on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, as well as discussion at the plenary session, a consensus of views is reached that Comrade Xiaoping is far-sighted, so we should respect his wishes and grant his request. The health and longevity of Comrade Xiaoping are of great significance to the smooth development of the work of the Party and the State.

The plenary session has highly evaluated Comrade Xiaoping's revolutionary career of more than 60 years and his outstanding contributions, and adopted the decision endorsing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's resignation from the chairmanship of the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission.

Comrade Xiaoping is deeply loved by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all China's nationalities, and he enjoys a high reputation. Comrade Xiaoping's resignation from all leading posts is a big event in our

Party's and our country's political life.

Party committees at various levels must do work among the cadres and the masses on this matter. Comrades on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and on the Political Bureau must take the lead in earnestly studying Comrade Xiaoping's works, learning from his rich experience, fine qualities, revolutionary courage and communist spirit. We must unswervingly carry out the Party's basic line, and principles and policies, consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity, and do a good job of socialist modernization construction, reform and opening the country to the outside world.

The plenary session decided that I serve as chairman of the Party Central Committee's Military Commission. I thank you comrades for trusting me. I said at the previous plenary session that I was not fully prepared when I was elected general secretary of the Central Committee. This time, I am not fully prepared either. I have no experience in military work, and I feel my abilities fall far short of what the position demands. But, since the Party has assigned the work to me, I must make every effort to learn about military affairs and familiarize myself as soon as possible with the armed forces and carry out my duty conscientiously and actively. In the past decade or so, under the leadership of Comrade Xiaoping a good foundation has been laid for making our armed forces more revolutionary, modern and regular. There are favourable conditions for continuing to do the work well, since Comrade Yang Shangkun is the first vice-chairman, Comrade Liu Huaqing is the vice-chairman and Comrade Yang Baibing is the secretary general, and in our army there are still a batch of battle-tested and seasoned veterans, a considerable number of talented and promising middle-aged and young comrades who have been newly promoted and also heroic soldiers who can storm all fortresses. Our army is the people's army led by the Party, and is a bastion of iron for the People's Republic. The Party's principle of army building and the army's glorious tradition should be adhered to and passed on from generation to generation. I believe that under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, by relying on the collective wisdom of the military commission, on the concerted efforts of the whole army, and on the support of the whole Party and the entire nation, we can constantly promote the building of the army and military work.

I am now going to elaborate on four points

related to the implementation of the Central Committee's "decision on further improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order and deepening the reform."

First, firmly embrace the idea of a sustained, stable and harmonious development of the national economy as our guiding thought.

The spirit and guiding thought of the decision adopted by the Party Central Committee is to strive for a long-term sustained, stable and harmonious development of the national economy through further improving the economic environment and straightening out the economic order. The session holds that great achievements have been made in our economic work in the past four decades but there were also mistakes. The most important lesson is the persistent tendency of being impatient for success regardless of national conditions and beyond the State's capability, resulting in marked ups and downs. This mistake seriously dampened the enthusiasm of cadres and the masses and led to great losses. It has been advocated for many years that the national economy should be developed in a sustained, stable and harmonious way. But in fact this principle has not been accepted nor implemented conscientiously by all members of the Party. Thus, it is imperative to further affirm and stress this guiding thought and firmly embrace it from the top leadership down to the grassroots. Moreover, it must be upheld unswervingly all along in the whole course of socialist modernization.

The strategic target and plan of economic development, to be carried out in three stages*, put forward by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Xiaoping, proceed from the national conditions and capabilities, and are in the fundamental interests of the people of all China's nationalities; they can be realized through our efforts. This strategic plan, which embodies the law of China's economic development, is itself permeated with the spirit of seeking truth from facts and forging ahead in a steady way. Now, the first stage has been accomplished. But, reviewing the past, we find that specific measures have not been carried out in a sufficiently stable

* The first step was to double the 1980 GNP and thereby solve the problem of the population's food and clothing. This task has already been accomplished. The second step is, by the end of this century, to quadruple the 1980 GNP to enable the people to lead a more comfortable life. The third step is to catch up with moderately developed countries, based on the per-capita share of the GNP, by the middle of the 21st century. At that time, China's standard of living will be comparatively affluent and the country will have essentially realized its modernization.

way, and there have been the tendency of impatience for success in both construction and reform. We should earnestly sum up the experience and draw due lessons. On the basis of fully affirming the achievements and carrying them forward, we can implement all the better the line, principles and policies adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and get the national economy to develop in a sustained, stable and harmonious way, thus laying the foundation for achieving the second stage by the end of this century.

The target and a series of policies and measures put forward in the decision by the Central Committee are summed up in one point, that is, to realize a sustained, stable and harmonious development of the national economy. All localities and departments should adhere to this point in the course of implementing the decision, no matter when the work goes on smoothly or is met with problems.

To realize a sustained, stable and harmonious development of national economy is a very complicated matter. In principle, sustained development is one with a normal, long-term development speed; stable development means development without violent ups and downs; and harmonious development refers to rational relations between important economic sectors. To sum up, we are to realize stable progress in a planned and proportional way, and improve economic and social results constantly. Only such a speed is most effective and reliable. We should, through reform and opening to the outside world, combine a planned economy with market regulation in a correct way, and conscientiously realize sustained, stable and harmonious economic development. However, in the course of implementing the decision, various contradictions and problems may spring up, and we are still not clear about many things. But, as long as we have a correct guideline and repeatedly examine and study the situation, we can gradually solve contradictions and problems and do the work well.

Second, hold to the mass line and improve leadership style.

Our Party has always regarded it as its fundamental purpose to serve the people wholeheartedly, with the belief that history is, in the final analysis, created by the people. Based on this historical materialism, the Party, while leading the people in prolonged struggle and practice, has created and developed the mass line—from the masses and to the masses.

In the words of Comrade Mao Zedong: "Take

the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time." (*Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership in Selected Works of Mao Zedong III*)

The mass line is the fundamental line of our work. It is also the fundamental leadership style and work method. By adhering to the mass line, the Party can ensure a close link with the masses and success in all the Party's work.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our Party's line and policies have expressed the interests and will of the masses, synthesized the experiences and wisdom of the masses, and enjoyed the support of the masses. All the achievements of the construction and reform are the result of hard struggle of the people under the leadership of the Party. And also the result of restoring and developing the mass line, a fine tradition of the Party.

However, it should be pointed out that, in recent years, quite a few comrades have developed an evidently vague conception of the masses. Their links with the masses have obviously weakened. Such bureaucratism and commandism as ignoring the opinions of the masses and never caring about the wellbeing of the masses, and such illegal phenomena as abusing power for private interest, bribe-taking, embezzlement, and corrupt activities that harm and encroach upon the interests of the masses have occurred to a certain extent; in some cases the situation is very serious. The masses strongly resent such phenomena. In some places and units the relationship between the Party and the masses and the relationship between the cadres and the masses are not harmonious at all. In some cases, the relationship is one of friction. Such a situation has impeded the implementation of the Party's correct line and damaged the image and reputation of the Party. This merits our full alertness and attention.

All Party members, especially leading cadres at the high and middle levels, must reach a higher standard in following the mass line and

improving their leadership style while carrying out the decision of the Central Committee. Only by relying on the masses can we complete our tasks, accumulate experiences, create new things and overcome difficulties.

Following the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, leading comrades of Party committees and leading cadres at all levels—from the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee down—should go to the grass-roots units to listen to the masses with open minds, to make careful investigations, and educate and organize them conscientiously to carry out the decision. They should take the lead in living austere lives for a few years, and in developing the spirit of self-reliance, plain living, hard struggle and building our country and running all undertakings with diligence and thrift, and share the comforts and hardships of the masses, so as to encourage the masses to become active and creative, and have a sense of national pride and confidence. In this process leaders can also enrich and improve themselves.

We must rely on the masses to strengthen our efforts to construct clean politics, and fight against corruption and unhealthy tendencies in society and our Party. We should conduct thoroughgoing and painstaking ideological and political work, consult the masses when meeting new problems, and discover and tackle problems in a timely fashion rather than solve them after they have accumulated and intensified. In the latter case, the losses are tremendous. We must do our best to tackle problems that impinge on the interests and everyday lives of the masses, and solve these problems whenever it is possible. We should try to create more job opportunities for those who are waiting for employment as a result of asset reduction and adjustment of industrial structure.

In the process of pressing ahead with construction and reform, as well as in the struggle against the current economic difficulties, we must forge closer ties between the Party and the masses, so that the Party's fine tradition and fine style of adhering to the mass line will be taken root among all the cadres, especially the younger ones, and be carried forward from generation to generation.

Third, strengthen democratic centralism and enhance the Party's fighting power.

As the fundamental organizational principle of the Party, democratic centralism is the mass line of the Party's work applied in the Party's life. Historical experience shows that whenever we adhere to this principle, policy decisions are

made correctly, the Party is united as one and work is done well. Conversely, whenever this principle is not successfully implemented, policy decisions tend to err, views are difficult to converge, and deviations of one sort or another in work occur. So we must strictly implement the principle of democratic centralism in carrying out the Central Committee's decision so as to guarantee a smooth fulfillment of various tasks.

The task of strengthening democratic centralism involves many aspects. Here, I want to put emphasis on three issues for discussion.

The first issue involves correctly handling the relations between the central authorities and the localities, between superiors and subordinates. During the period of improving the economic environment and straightening out the economic order, our stress on proper centralization and strengthened macro-control will involve the interests of many quarters. At this Plenary Session and the Central Working Conference, comrades from the localities and various departments take the interests of the whole into account, reflecting high level of Party spirit and political consciousness.

After the meeting, the central authorities and localities will work out plans for the concrete implementation of the decision. The central departments must continuously listen to and respect opinions from localities, and the localities should continuously listen to and respect the opinions of their subordinates so as to have a correct understanding of situations, work in a down-to-earth way and make the implementation plans practical. All the comrades agree with displaying initiatives from both central authorities and localities. Only by sticking to the principle of democratic centralism can we combine the two initiatives organically and fully display their role.

At present, the central authorities must concentrate power and financial and material resources in the optimum way, must stress the importance of the state plan; only thus can we stabilize the whole economic situation. When anything has been decided by the Party Central Committee and the State Council, all localities and departments should do their best to make it a success. They can neither fall short of the requirements nor simply go their own way. Nor may they make regulations contravening the Central Committee decision on the excuse of their own peculiar circumstances. Moreover, it is forbidden to make a pretense of agreeing with the decision while opposing it covertly, or carry out the decision in a way that suits themselves.

In the implementation of the decision, Party committees at different levels must take responsibility, and each level should solve problems which fall within its spheres without shifting the responsibility onto others. The superior authority should strengthen supervision and inspection of the subordinate body, which, in turn, should report the situation as it is regularly to its superior. The central authorities will have a primary examination every six months on the work of implementation of the decision, and an overall examination each year, to sum up experience and solve problems in a timely fashion.

The second issue is that Party committees at all levels should strengthen collective leadership. We are confronted with arduous tasks and a complicated situation in improving the economic environment and straightening out the economic order and deepening the reform. Only by pooling our collective wisdom and experience can we have a good grasp of the overall situation, make correct decisions, solve problems, and avoid detours and mistakes. Party committees at all levels and, first of all, principal leaders must adhere to the principle of democracy, develop a democratic style of work, give heed to opinions from all walks of life, including different and even dissenting opinions, and synthesize these opinions after repeated study and comparison. All major issues must be discussed and decided by the collective. When a decision is made, it will be firmly implemented with division of individual responsibility. Experience has proved there is the need to prevent the tendency of one person alone having the final say before a decision is made and to prevent individuals from acting their own way in a departure from the decision once it has been made. Members of leading bodies should respect, accommodate, help and complement one another in work. Only in this way can unity and fighting power be increased.

The third issue is the strengthening of Party discipline. It is our Party's consistent rule that individual Party members are subordinate to the Party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower Party organizations are subordinate to the higher Party organizations, and all the Party members and organizations subordinate to the Central Committee. This is the basic organizational discipline that all Party members must observe. This is a main part of democratic centralism as well as an important guarantee for implementing democratic centralism. Over the past few years the phenomenon of lax discipline within the Party has emerged as a

serious one, thus encouraging selfish departmentalism and overstress on local interest. The saying that "the higher authorities have policies and the localities have their counter-measures" is a clear manifestation of this.

In the period of improving the economic environment and straightening out the economic order, it is especially important to stress the Party organizational function and discipline, to resolutely change the state of weakness and slackness in upholding Party discipline and national law, and firmly combat the phenomena of violating the principle of democratic centralism and jeopardizing the Party's centralization and unity. Earnest efforts must be made to take prompt action upon order and stop immediately upon prohibition. To uphold Party discipline, it is necessary to strengthen supervision within the Party and supervision of the Party by the broad masses and public opinion.

To raise the Party's fighting power, an urgent task at present is to strengthen the building of the grass-roots Party organizations in a big way. Vast numbers of rural Party members and cadres shoulder heavy burdens. The higher Party committees must show more concern for them, and give them more support and help. Effective measures should be adopted to strengthen the building of rural Party organizations and political power. We must see that quite a number of basic Party organizations in rural areas are in a state of weakness and slackness. Some are paralyzed or semi-paralyzed and can not play the role of a powerful fighting force. The higher Party committees must size up the situation at once and send able cadres to take charge of rectifying these Party organizations and helping them raise their efficiency.

In enterprises, it is necessary to handle the relations between Party work and administrative work and between the Party secretary and the director. The responsibility system of factory directors must continue to be implemented. It is necessary to strengthen the leading role of Party organizations in political and ideological work of enterprises, and also the Party's mass work and organizational work. Party organizations in enterprises must ensure and supervise the implementation of the Party and state principles and policies, and adhere to the socialist orientation in running enterprises. They must support factory directors in independently exercising the right to manage, guide production and develop technology; they must not take on the administrative duties of the enterprises. We hope that all factory directors and Party secretaries will support

and co-ordinate with each other, working in full co-operation and harmony and with unity of purpose in running enterprises well.

Fourth, strengthen theoretical study and make Party work more scientific.

For many years, revolutionaries of the older generation of the Party emphasized repeatedly that efforts should be made to study and master the basic principles of Marxism, and in conjunction with the changing realities of construction and reform, continuously explore ways to tackle new problems in order not to get lost in the course of complicated struggle.

In the past decade, our Party, by combining the basic principles of Marxism with practical conditions in China, has advanced a number of theoretical points of view on the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. However, it must be acknowledged that the Party as a whole has not yet established a proper atmosphere or a perfect system for studying and researching the basic theories of Marxism.

It is necessary now to put special emphasis on studying and researching basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Because of a rampant ideological trend favouring bourgeois liberalization for a period in the recent past, there was confusion about many theoretical issues. Some cadres, including some leading cadres, were affected by this to different degrees, and some even sided with the rioters. The struggle between international hostile forces and socialist countries will exist for a long time on the levels of infiltration and counter-infiltration, subversion and counter-subversion, and "peaceful evolution" and the effort to counter it.

Domestically, confrontation and struggle between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization will also exist for a long time to come. In the process of the ongoing economic rectification, in-depth reform and socialist modernization, many complicated things need to be recognized, many important questions need to be resolved and many realms which are yet beyond our understanding need to be explored, in economy, politics, ideology, culture and other fields. Therefore, it becomes increasingly urgent and of practical importance to study and research the basic theories of Marxism.

Marxist theory is very rich in content. At present we should first earnestly study Marxist philosophy to get a good command of the basic points of view and basic methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, for ex-

ample, the views of the co-ordination between subject and object, of practice, of history, of overall dialectics, and of class analysis. Some of our comrades, in their thought and work, often jump from one extreme to another and swing between one-sided viewpoints. Their problem lies in a failure to grasp dialectical materialism. We must take a firm stand against metaphysics, make great efforts to study dialectics and get a profound understanding of dialectics, which Lenin described as a theory about historical development which is all-embracing and full of contradictions.

To study and research Marxist theory is the fundamental way to make the Party's work more scientific and arm it with foresight, Party committees at all levels, in addition to timely guidance and supervision, should make specific arrangements for such study, taking into consideration the existing theoretical and cultural levels of their Party members and according to their own work and needs. Higher and stricter demands should be made on leading cadres. It should be made clear to comrades that whether they study Marxist theory seriously or not, and whether they raise their Marxist theoretical level or not through study and work, are important indications of the intensity of their Party spirit. This should also be a basic standard for assessing and appointing of leading cadres.

Party organizations in research units of social sciences and propaganda, press, publication, cultural and educational departments should organize people to write a batch of practical, theoretical and scientific articles and books. It is a task of strategic importance to arm the Party members and cadres with basic Marxist theory, and train generation after generation of Marxist theoreticians and experts in various professions.

Comrades, this Plenary Session is one featuring seeking truth from facts and one to pluck up our spirits, inspire our confidence and make us united for the future tasks. After the session we will work harder in a down-to-earth way and seek unity in thinking among cadres and the rank and file in line with the Central Committee's "decision on further improving the economic environment and straightening out the economic order and deepening the reform," and arouse the people for vigorous efforts to strive for a decisive victory for the rectification and in-depth reform, and a new victory for socialist modernization through self-reliance, hard work and plain living! □

The True Features of 'Democratic Fighters'

Recently, some Western news media have extolled Wuer Kaixi, Yan Jiaqi, Fang Lizhi and others as "democratic fighters" concerned about China and its people. The facts, however, are much different. The following article exposes their true motives and characters.—Ed.

by Our Staff Reporter Jian Chuan

Rumourmonger Wuer Kaixi

Wuer Kaixi, who has fled to a foreign country and considered himself to be a "leader of the student movement," enrolled as a student in the Beijing Teachers' University in 1988. During the late spring and early summer of this year, he began to organize the student strike, boasting such public aims as the "promotion of China's democratic progress," "opposition to corruption," and "expression of concern for the crises in education."

In contrast to such public pronouncements at the time, though, he was himself faced with two personal crises. He had failed to pass university examinations in three subjects—biology (a score of 42), mathematics, (52), and foreign language, (57)—and he would be ordered to quit school. Secondly, he had been involved in the illegal buying and selling of furs and wools, losing 7,000 yuan in the process, the cost of which he was unable to cover.

Such people as Wuer Kaixi, however, have a strong desire for power. In 1988, after he entered the university, he tried to become a cadre for the department and the students union, but, due to his frequent absence, speculations and poor academic record, he was denied the position.

The student strike, the death of former General Secretary Hu Yaobang, its catalyst, was regarded by Wuer Kaixi as a chance to

extricate himself from his difficult standing at the university. He blithely told his classmates, "If I do well now, it will be an honour to be ordered to leave school."

He went public for the first time on April 20, the day he gave speeches to incite students sitting in front of Xinhua gate of Zhongnanhai, headquarters of the Party Central Committee and the State Council. He led people to repeatedly charge the Xinhua gate, the type of action which had never occurred even during the

"cultural revolution" (1966-76) and which is a clear violation of the law in Western countries. At dawn, in order to allow the free flow of daily traffic, the police forced the sit-in students at Xinhua gate to get on buses and sent them to their school. Wuer Kaixi then fabricated rumours, slandering the police to create a "bloody incident," and further incited students against the government.

On April 21, Wuer Kaixi set up an unlawful "autonomous student union" in Beijing Teachers'



University, making himself its chairman. That night, he plotted a large sit-in at the Tiananmen Square, ostensibly to participate in the memorial meeting to mourn for Hu Yaobang even though the sit-in was not approved by the government.

On April 22, outside the Great Hall of the People, in which Hu's grand memorial meeting was being held, he announced to the students over a loudspeaker the false news that, "Premier Li Peng had agreed to meet us and have a dialogue at 12 o'clock. Please wait patiently." At 12:45, he incited the students by saying Li Peng had deceived them. He then led students in a charge towards the Great Hall of the People.

By the end of April, because Wuer Kaixi was well known in campus upheaval and turmoil, he was pushed to the position of chairman of the "autonomous students union of Beijing universities." He and his behind-the-scene schemers, the "political elite" Yan Jiaqi, Wan Runnan, the former general manager of the Stone Company, and Liu Xiaobo, lecturer of the Beijing Teachers' University (Liu was encouraged by Wang Bingzhang, leader of the China Democratic League, an anti-China organization, to return to Beijing from the United States), met and discussed many times how to expand the turmoil and oppose the Party and socialism. On May 13, using the hunger strike as a means to force the Party and government to agree to his demands, Wuer Kaixi raised two political requirements. The first was that the government should admit the turmoil was a "patriotic democratic movement" and the second was to permit legalization of the "autonomous students union of Beijing universities." These two demands, however, were only part of the political strategy played out by Wuer Kaixi on the orders of his behind-the-scene plotters. In an interview with a French reporter, he said

undisguisedly, "Our demands go far beyond the present three or four conditions. Everybody here has their own demands. We must advance step by step."

But towards what direction was Wuer Kaixi advancing? On May 14, he clearly showed his purpose when he talked with a French reporter of *Le Figaro*. He said, "To oppose the government one must oppose the Chinese Communist Party. We must force the Party and government to recognize 'the autonomous students union of Beijing universities,' and allow the establishment of political opposition parties in China."

Since he fled to foreign countries, Wuer Kaixi has bandied about the rumour of a "blood bath in the Tiananmen Square" caused by the People's Liberation Army. He says, "I saw with my own eyes students at the Tiananmen Square falling one after another," and also says that "more than 3,000 people had died." According to Stone cadre Zhou Duo and others, however, who took part in the 48-to-72-hour hunger strike, and who were among the last to leave the Tiananmen Square, Wuer Kaixi had an attack of his heart illness and was carried away from the square before the clearing operation. He clearly has no right to comment on what occurred and all of his talk that Tiananmen Square had become a blood bath is nothing but falsehood.

Several months have passed since the Beijing disturbance and with the airing of the facts, many students who were initially incited and misled by Wuer Kaixi in the past have awakened as if from a sleep. They now carry with them a strong dislike of Wuer Kaixi.

His speech and his action overseas has also aroused the criticism of an increasing number of people of insight. One visiting scholar at Columbia University in the US said, "I didn't expect Wuer Kaixi to have such a low level. He has

nothing in his mind except the ability to shout slogans and hurl abuses."

One American reporter pointed out perceptively, "This Chinese youth, Wuer Kaixi, is nothing more than a plaything in the hands of Congressmen." Many fair-minded Americans and overseas Chinese have concluded that Wuer Kaixi is just a contemptible scoundrel who likes to be in the limelight.

A commentary in a French newspaper published on September 15 noted that, "People who make private gains as a result of the abuse of their own country will certainly come to no good end. When their value is gone, their performance is also at an end."

Yan Jiaqi a Contemptible Scoundrel

Like Wuer Kaixi, Yan Jiaqi, who once served as a director of the Institute of Political Science under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, has fled to a foreign country. Yan is adorned, however, with more laurels heralding him as a "new-type politician," "a theoretical authority on political structural reform," and a "political elite," accolades which were obtained mainly from his three books as well as other published articles and speeches.

One of his three books, *Ten Years of the Cultural Revolution*, was based on big and small character posters, various rumours and heresay gathered during 1966-76; another is *On Top Leaders* in which he propounds his bourgeois political views; the third is the self-flattering *Ideological Autobiography*, in which he simply blows his own trumpet. In the latter two books and some other articles and speeches can be found the essence of Yan's political views. These views possess the following three aspects.

He advocates the Western countries' "tripartite" political

system even though it does not conform to China's own conditions, and he attacks the People's Republic of China as an "empire of practising autocracy." He holds that to practise "tripartite" politics, the prerequisite is the elimination of the leadership of the Communist Party." In such ideas, Yan ignores what is well known to all that the leadership position of the Communist Party of China has been shaped through the development of the modern Chinese history and has been supported by the overwhelming majority of the people throughout the country.

He advocates the pluralistic concept of politics, and the demand that the opposition organization, aimed at overthrowing China's legal government, obtain a legal position in China, so as to better "contend with the Communist Party."

Lastly, on November 11, 1988, Yan clearly put forward his view that private property rights should be permitted and be clearly stipulated in the Constitution. What is his reason for demanding the right to private property? Yan dare not say it clearly, but his follower Wan Runnan, the former general manager of the Stone Company, laid bare the truth with his penetrating remarks that it is to create conditions for the rise of a "middle class." The rise of the middle class is the basis for a democratic political system or, in other words, an attempt to lay the foundation for the rise of a capitalist republic in China.

To attain this goal, Yan began to engage in street politics and illegal activities early in 1979 when China first implemented economic structural reform. At that time, he not only secretly contacted illegal organizations and publications in Beijing and other parts of the country, but also directly involved in various illegal activities of the "Xidan democracy wall" movement in Beijing and advocated Western "de-

mocracy" and "freedom."

Yan repeated his actions again in 1987 by publicly advocating the Western bourgeois political system.

One can't help wondering how such a person could have acquired the post of director of the Institute of Political Science of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and be in position to give counsel on China's political structural reform. The answer lies in his protection by Zhao Ziyang, the former premier and general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

In 1986, Zhao Ziyang and his secretary, Bao Tong, had Yan transferred to the Research Group of Political Structural Reform of the Central Committee to act as a key member of Zhao's brain tank.

In 1987, when Yan was investigated by the departments concerned due to his advocate of bourgeois liberalization, it was Zhao's protection that protected him.

This made Yan even more brazen. On April 15, Hu Yaobang, the former general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, passed away and the student movement began. To take advantage of the situation, a handful of people, with Yan acting enthusiastically as the mastermind, plotted to create turmoil.

Yan colluded with others to write letters to the CPC Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) and the State Council, trying to exert pressure on the Party Central Committee to acknowledge that what had been proposed by the students were all positive and democratic. Meanwhile, in an expansion of the events, he instigated and led others from intellectual and news circles to support the student movement.

Compared with Wuer Kaixi, whose role in the student movement-turmoil-rebellion was

to seek the limelight and satisfy his thirst for power, Yan Jiaqi, acted out of clear political motives. He wanted to propel forward the idea to "topple Deng and protect Zhao," which would in turn lead to the practice of the Western political system in China.

On May 16, in his talk with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Zhao publicly shifted all responsibilities for events onto Deng Xiaoping. Immediately, Yan drafted the "May 17 declaration" which attacked Deng, and called for "an end to gerontocracy," and for the "dictator to resign." He thus gave evil-doers the mobilization order for the overthrow of the People's Republic.

On May 20, after the State Council declared martial law in some areas of Beijing, Yan emerged from his scheming behind the scenes and assumed the role of organizer and commander.

On May 23, with others, he organized the illegal federation of the Beijing intellectual circles which sent a telegram to the Standing Committee of the NPC, asking it to hold an urgent meeting at once for the "submission of a petition to recall Li Peng, the premier of the State Council." At the same time, he called on supporters to join in the sit-in at the Tiananmen Square.

On May 24, with other illegal organizations including the "autonomous students union of Beijing Universities," the "autonomous federation of Beijing residents" and "Beijing workers' dare-to-die corps," Yan helped organize the united conference from all walks of life in the capital and the "headquarters on the Tiananmen Square." They were determined to "overthrow the Chinese government with a spirit fearing no bleeding or death."

On May 27, he attended the meeting of the so-called "big hunger strike of 5,000 intellectual elite" and directed a farcical 48-72 hour hunger strike in which

only 4 persons took part.

On June 3, during the rebellion, Yan was busily directing activities designed to keep military vehicles from entering the city.

One can easily draw the conclusion from the above facts that Yan, highly praised by Western countries as a "pro-democratic fighter" and a "political elite," is no more than a scoundrel who attempted to undermine the People's Republic.

Fang Lizhi: Scum of the Intelligentsia

Although Fang Lizhi is an astrophysics scientist, his popularity is not his scientific theses nor his prominent achievements in scientific research, but his seeking of the political limelight and his condemnations of his own country, action which are lavishly praised by some Westerners.

Why is Fang, a scientist, so enthusiastic in politics? Why doesn't he concentrate his energy on scientific research? Is it really because, as is often said, that he is concerned about his country and his people and that he is a patriot and democrat?

The answer is no, because Fang has denied patriotism. He says openly that he, by nature, is against patriotism and instead, in borrowing the words of Albert Einstein, declares that there is no need to pay attention to which country one belongs. In his view, China needs not only to be liberalized but also to be dissolved and disintegrated.

And after the country's dissolution, what would he do? Without a hint of shame, he says he would go to the United States and be a world citizen, a Chinese Albert Einstein.

Einstein is not the question of concern, however, more important is that we can see from his words and deeds that he is no patriot.

So why is Fang, a man trying to

disband his own country, called "patriotic" by some Westerners? The reason lies in the solution, the "way out," Fang has found for China. He proposes "complete Westernization" and the taking of the capitalist road.

Fang has never denied this. Ignoring the fact that socialism has brought rapid development to China, Fang said in 1986 that what China has done over the past 30 years represents a failure of the socialist system. He says socialism has put China in a dead end and that the only way out is capitalism.

He repeatedly advocates, therefore, "complete Westernization" in China. In November 1986, in a speech at Ningbo University in Zhejiang Province, he said, "I appreciate very much the concept of 'complete Westernization' which means the absorbing of all Western things—science, technology, culture, politics, ideology and morality, including the changing of China's political structure and system of ownership, and even introducing a premier."

This is the reason some Westerners find him so much to their liking.

Fang's democratic image is false, though, because he doesn't concern himself with people's just and democratic rights. Trying to sell the idea of Western bourgeois democracy, he keeps creating turmoil against the socialist system, the guarantee for the people's extensive democracy. In December 1986, when he was vice-president of China University of Science and Technology, some students in the university, at Fang's instigation, together with other college students in Hefei, Anhui Province, took to the streets in an action giving the greenlight to the 1986 student movement and social turmoil.

In January 1987, though Fang was discharged from his post as vice-president of China University of Science and Technology

and expelled from the Communist Party, he showed no sign of repentance but, instead, intensified his efforts to trumpet bourgeois "democracy and freedom" and incite student unrest on the campus.

At a gathering before the turmoil in Beijing this year, Fang arrogantly clamoured that "we must completely boycott and criticize the current government." He incited people to "go to streets after three such meetings," and "to expand the event throughout the country to compel the government to submit." With such intentions, Fang and his wife Li Suxian controlled Wang Dan, a former student from the History Department of Beijing University and the person responsible for the "autonomous students union of Beijing Universities." At the same time they plotted the student demonstration, sit-ins, hunger strike and other unlawful activities. Fang's wife frequently went to Tiananmen Square to encourage students in the hunger strike "to have the courage to die in hunger and to burn yourselves."

These actions escalated the turmoil until it burst out in open rebellion.

What Fang had pursued as "democracy" and "liberalization" wouldn't have been allowed in the most democratic and liberal country.

After the quelling of Beijing's rebellion, China's public security departments issued a wanted circular for Fang Lizhi and Li Suxian. To avoid punishment, they fled to the American Embassy in Beijing, in an act of galling humiliation to many Chinese intellectuals. Even their best friends believe that Fang's words and deeds have insulted not only China's national dignity but also Fang's personal dignity. For most Chinese intellectuals, Fang, now dependent on the pleasure of others, has become a pariah. □

Marxism-Leninism Is the Banner of Our Times (II)

This is the second part of a three-part series written by Zhang Zhen, president of the China National Defence University. The first part was published in the last issue of *Beijing Review*. The third part which refutes "the theory of pluralism" will be published in our next issue.—Ed.

by Zhang Zhen

Some people who stick to their bourgeois liberalization stand have also advanced the theory that Marxism-Leninism is harmful. They say that Marxism-Leninism is not suitable to China's national conditions and is the source for China's prolonged backwardness.

This is but an abuse of truth and distortion of history. China's history over the past 100 years has proved that reactionary theory completely wrong.

In China's modern history, countless revolutionary people witnessed the misery of their country and sought a way to save it and the Chinese people from outside China. But what was the result?

Hong Xiuquan, leader of a peasant uprising in the mid-19th century, learned from Western Christianity and, combining it with the demands of Chinese peasants, founded the Society for Worshipping God. He dreamed of a Heavenly Kingdom of Peace where everybody shared everything. However, his rebellion, though reaching some momentous heights, failed in the end. The conclusion was that neither Western Christianity nor egalitarianism could save China.

The "Hundred Days" reformists in 1898 imported the theo-

ry of evolution from the West and rested their hope of introducing a new set of laws for China on a wise emperor. They even dreamed of relying on several imperialist countries to help promote their reform programme. However, the movement was crushed in its early stages by feudal diehards and imperialists. History has concluded that neither vulgar evolutionism nor a "wise emperor" nor imperialist "assistance" could save China.

Bourgeois revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen sought another road of saving China by advancing their own democratic doctrine and revolutionary goals and establishing their own revolutionary organization. They borrowed the Western bourgeois theory of "natural human rights" and formulated a plan for building a bourgeois republic. They organized revolutionary armies, determined to eliminate feudalism, founded a republic and tried to distribute all the land equally. However, several decades of hard struggle and sacrifices still failed to rescue China. The 1911 armed uprising ended feudal ruling that had lasted for more than 2,000 years and implanted the idea of democracy and republic in the people, but China was still

reduced to a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. History again proved that neither the "natural human rights" theory nor the bourgeois republic formula could deliver China.

Then how could China find a way out?

"The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism," said the late Chairman Mao Zedong. Henceforce, the Chinese revolution presented a new set of characters.

It was the introduction of Marxism-Leninism to China and the subsequent integration of the theory and the workers' movement that gave birth to the Communist Party of China. Thus the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle had the leadership of an advanced political party, strictly organized, guided by a scientific theory and fighting for the interests of the working-class and all the people of China.

It was the introduction of Marxism-Leninism that helped the Chinese people develop a scientific world outlook and methodology and their correct approach towards the destiny of China. With Marxism-Leninism, the Party analysed China's historical situation at that time, and class relationship

in China and the international context. Accordingly, it formulated a programme for the democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism, and answered many basic questions concerning the task, targets, incentives, nature, development phase and the future of the Chinese revolution. Therefore the Party formed an extensive united front including the working-class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, realizing a powerful political unity that had never before been witnessed in China.

It was only after Marxism-Leninism was introduced to China that the Chinese people came to understand that both the criticism by weapons and the weapon of criticism were indispensable to the success of the Chinese revolution. It was utterly necessary for the Party to organize an innovative type of army that was closely linked to the people like blood and flesh. Without it, there would be no liberation of the Chinese people or China's independence. The Chinese revolution should be won through prolonged armed struggle, which is both the characteristic and the strong point of the Chinese revolution. There would be no way out otherwise.

After Marxism-Leninism spread throughout China, the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people won one victory after another. The Chinese people finally overthrew imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and established the People's Republic of China in 1949 in which the people were masters, ending more than 100 years of misery. China's economy and culture have greatly developed from extremely backward beginnings and through very difficult conditions.

The Chinese nation now

stands among world nations. China has the right to speak on the world arena and the Chinese people feel proud and stand tall. Millions of descendants of the Yan Di and Huang Di (the Yellow Emperor), who are living abroad, feel great pride at being Chinese.

History has shown that Marxism has not harmed China, but has saved it.

The great historical role of Marxism-Leninism in China is embodied in Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the combination of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the specific Chinese revolutionary practice. The fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism is the integration of practice and theory. Out of all the schools of thought, only Marxism-Leninism can save China. Of all the schools of Marxism, after it was introduced to China, only Mao Zedong Thought—Marxism-Leninism combined with Chinese conditions—can save China.

Old China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country in the East. As China carried out its revolution, it faced many special and complicated issues. All these issues could not be resolved by reciting the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and copying the experiences of foreign countries. In the history of the Chinese revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party, there were times when Marxism-Leninism became dogma and the resolutions of the Communist International and the Soviet experience were sacrosanct, damaging the cause of the Chinese revolution.

Mao Zedong firmly dismissed the way of dogmatism. Using conditions in China as a starting point, he studied the characteristics and law of the Chinese re-

volution. He enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism, being embodied in the programme and line he formulated for democratic revolution, the policies and tactics of the People's Army, and the principle guiding Party building, ideological and political and cultural work, socialist transformation and construction. These constituted the basic points of Mao Zedong Thought. It is based on seeking truth from facts, relying on the masses, independence, hard struggle and plain living, diligence, self-reliance and serving the people wholeheartedly.

Running through all these are the stand, viewpoints and method of Marxism-Leninism; they fully embody the features of Marxist-Leninist practice, class struggle and revolution. At the same time, they are Marxism-Leninism with Chinese characteristics.

True, Mao Zedong committed serious mistakes in his later years, but this cannot be an excuse to negate Mao Zedong Thought. These mistakes were not the result of following Mao Zedong Thought. On the contrary, they went against Mao Zedong Thought. People should distinguish the mistakes of his later years from Mao Zedong Thought, which has been jointly created by the old proletarian revolutionaries represented by Mao Zedong and all the comrades of the Party, based on their revolutionary experience.

Those who stubbornly adhere to bourgeois liberalization have denied Mao Zedong Thought, not because they are entirely ignorant, but because in the final analysis, they have opposed the Chinese people, revolution and history. Their stand is mistaken, so they have come to completely different conclusions. □

Big and Medium-Sized Enterprises: Backbone of Industrial China

After the 40 years of self-reliance effort, the state-owned big and medium-sized enterprises come to represent the economic strength and technological standard of China. Ten years of reform have amplified the vitality of the big and medium-sized enterprises even as some recent restraints have been brought to bear. How to improve management over such enterprises is an urgent question in the current process of deepening the reform.—Ed.

by Our Staff Reporter Li Ping

From September 21 to 27, just prior to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Exhibition of Forty Years of Chinese Industry, in which more than 240 big and medium-sized enterprises, such as Daqing Oilfield, Anshan Iron and Steel Co., Shoudu Iron and Steel Co., Shengli Oil Field, Yanshan Petrochemical Co., the No.1 Automobile Manufacturing Factory and the No.2 Automobile Manufacturing Factory, participated, was held in Beijing. The achievements of Chinese big and medium-sized enterprises were displayed by their advanced equipment, technology and management levels. They displayed the current industrial standards of China as well as the progress the industry has made in the past forty years.

Splendid Achievement

On duty, in front of the exhibition stall of the Kailuan Coal Mine, Jia Yanjie, the enterprise's chief economist, explained that the Kailuan Coal Mine had been established in 1878, nearly three quarters of a century before liberation. It had

developed slowly. Conditions were poor and the excavation was done almost exclusively by manual labour; the result was that each year over one hundred workers died in accidents. In 1949, the annual production output was 3.34 million tons, only 130,000 tons of which was refined coal. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, however, great changes have occurred. With the introduction of advanced excavation technology and machinery, the mechanization rate for the work of coal cutting and tunnelling is now 59.91 percent and 47.42 percent respectively, enough to ensure workers' safety. Since 1986, the death rate has been kept below one person for every million tons of coal. In 1988, coal output reached 17.524 million tons, with 5.6 million tons refined. Kailuan is now China's largest cooking coal base and its development is regarded as one example of China's industrial enterprises.

Since the Opium War of 1840, when imperialism knocked down the nation's gate, no large industry could be found in China until 1949. The primitive mines, small workshops and

handicraft industry were the mainstay of China's industry. In 1949, with 10 billion yuan in fixed assets, China's industry turned out only 14 billion yuan in annual output value.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, China's working class arduously undertook self-reliant construction of the nation's big industry. From the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), when 156 key industrial projects were constructed, to 1988, China established 10,676 big and medium-sized enterprises with 698.1 billion yuan of fixed assets; big and medium-sized enterprises form the nation's industrial backbone. Statistics indicate that by the end of 1988 the fixed assets, output value, pre-tax profit and number of workers of the big and medium-sized enterprises made up 65 percent, 50.4 percent, 63.3 percent and 35 percent respectively of all industrial enterprises with independent accounting. China's large mines, electric power stations, metallurgical, petroleum, chemical, aeronautic, automobile and ship-building industries are designed and constructed entirely with the nation's own resources mainly

provided by big and medium-sized enterprises.

These enterprises are the main source of the state's income. The total tax revenue and profit turned over by big and medium-sized enterprises from 1949 to 1988 was nearly 1,500 billion yuan, more than 49 percent of the state's total financial revenue during the same period.

During the past forty years, China has made great achievements in its efforts to technically catch up with and exceed advanced world levels. Advanced technology currently facilitates the operation of big and medium-sized enterprises. These technologies include the capability to dig deep and inclined wells in land and seabeds and the use of catalytic cracking for oil extraction in petroleum industry; the overhead-burn blast furnace and continuous steel casting for metallurgical industry; the outside-kiln cement decomposition technology in the cement industry; and the open-end spinning, jet-weaving, dyeing and after-treatment technology in the textile industry. The adoption of these technolo-

Development of the Wanbao Group (1980-88)

unit: million yuan

Year	Output Value	Profit and Tax	Export Value
1980	1.34	0.2215	0
1981	4.72	0.7074	1.92
1982	13.69	1.2956	5.13
1983	31.67	6.3390	1.335
1984	103.8	22.487	1.954
1985	270.00	47.94	2.2093
1986	405.00	73.28	13.26
1987	694.00	144.38	44.39
1988	1150.00	265.67	100.00

gies has apparently improved the technological standards and product quality of China's big and medium-sized enterprises. For example, 70 percent of newly developed products in recent years have reached the world level of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Some big enterprises have undertaken to develop communications satellites, long-range missiles, space technology, biological projects, and peaceful use of nuclear energy, placing China in the advanced ranks of the technological and scientific world. China's big and medium-sized enterprises now have a solid technical foundation armed with 5,200 technological devel-

opment organizations employing 800,000 technicians. Last year 12,000 technological projects were completed and given positive appraisals.

Reform and Opening to the Outside World

On the 1985 list of China's 100 biggest industrial enterprises, the name of Wanbao Household Electric Appliances Co. can not be found. However in 1986, Wanbao placed itself at the 100th and in 1987, the company leapt to the 43rd position.

In front of the Wanbao exhibition stall, Liu Fang, an official of the company's market development department attributed the rapid development of Wanbao to two facts: first, its first-class products and the increasing share of products going to domestic and international markets; second, the incorporation of factories into an enterprises group. Ten years ago, Wanbao was only a mechanical repair factory annually with more than 200,000 yuan in the red. In 1980, eyeing the domestic market, the factory imported refrigerator production lines from Japan and Singapore and began to produce refrigerators on a large scale, rapidly assuming a large portion of the domestic market. While expanding ex-

The Refinery of the Daqing Petrochemical Plant is in operation. The Daqing Oilfield is China's most important petroleum and petrochemical production base with an annual petroleum output of 55 million tons and 135 varieties of petrochemical products.

XU YINGJIE



port, Wanbao took over some other enterprises. By April 1988, the Wanbao Household Electric Appliances Group Co., composed of 40 units, staffed with 30,000 workers and furnished with more than 700 million yuan of fixed assets, was established. The group specializes in the production of refrigerators, televisions, air conditioners, washing machines, hi-fis and microwave ovens. At present, its refrigerator output has surpassed one million sets and is among the eight most productive refrigerator enterprises in the world. Last year, 350,000 sets of refrigerators were exported, accounting for over 60 percent of China's total refrigerator export. In 1989, Wanbao refrigerators were approved by Underwriters Laboratory, the US safety and quality standard required for entry into the US market. Liu believes that, if there had been no reform and opening to the outside world, there would be no Wanbao today.

No doubt, the policy of reform and opening to the outside world brought a new vitality to China's economy, and provided a new development opportunity for China's big and medium-sized enterprises.

Many old enterprises, first established during the First Five-Year Plan, have been able to gradually close the gap separating their operations from those foreign advanced levels by importing advanced technology, equipment and technological process; accelerating technological transformation; updating



The Coal Washery Plant using advanced technology of the Pingshuo Antaibao Opencut Coal Mine in Shanxi Province is in operation. This washery can process 9 million tons of refined coal and 2.6 million tons of mixed coal annually.

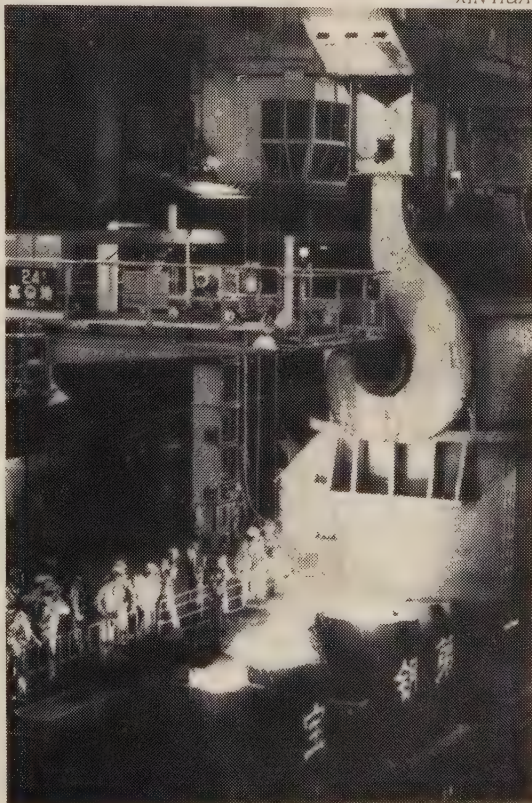
DONG RONGGUI

equipment and developing a new generation of products. Also, some Sino-foreign joint ventures, co-operating with big and medium-sized enterprises,

have been started with the use of foreign technology. These enterprises have shored up some weak spots in Chinese industry. In particular, the management

The Shanghai Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex is one of the most important achievements in China's national economic construction of the 1980s.

XIN HUA



level of Chinese enterprises has been improved and a newly trained group of entrepreneurs with a global view has emerged.

During the past ten years, the enterprise reform has been thorough and can be clearly seen in such successes as the responsibility system of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Co., the trans-regional enterprises group initiated by the No.1 Automobile Manufacturing Factory and No.2 Automobile Manufacturing Factory, and the stock system experimented in the Jinbei Automobile Co. Ltd. in Shenyang City, Heilongjiang Province. To date, as a sign of brisk novelty, more than 1,500 group enterprises have been established. The responsibility system is func-

tioning well in 95 percent of China's big and medium-sized enterprises.

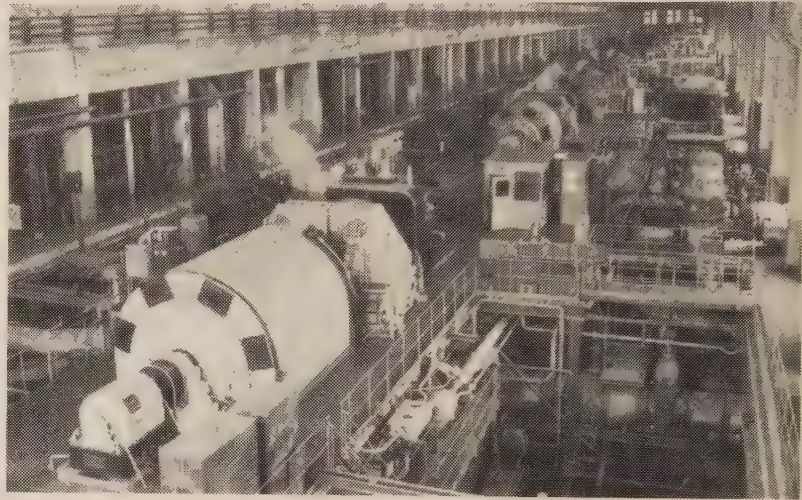
Difficulties and Solutions

Forty years of development have shaped the considerable scale and technological level of the big and medium-sized enterprises. However, compared with foreign countries, China still has a long way to go in terms of its industrial composition, equipment, management level and economic efficiency. This is shown by the following two facts.

The low level of development. According to a research report by China Enterprise Evaluation Center of *Administration World*, the sales volume of the Daqing Petroleum Administration, ranking first among China's 100 biggest enterprises in 1987, was 6.34 billion yuan. However, Smithkline Beckman, the last rated among the 100 biggest industrial enterprises of the United States selected by the magazine *Fortune* in 1987, had a sales volume of US\$4.33 billion (about 16.1 billion yuan), almost three times more than Daqing.

Excessively concentrated in the basic industry. Among the 100 biggest industrial enterprises in 1987, 25 are in exploration, with nine in petroleum exploration and 16 in coal mining; 38 enterprises, mainly large iron and steel complexes, are connected to the metallurgy field. These two categories represent 65.7 percent of the total sales volume of the top 100 and show that China still relies on its primary industry and the level of its industrial structure is still unreasonable.

On the one hand, China's big and medium-sized enterprises



The Heat and Power Plant in Jilin Province, China's newly-started and biggest heat and power plant, is now in production.
CHEN GUANGJUN

need further development when compared with large foreign enterprises. On the other hand, these enterprises have met many obstacles and are still facing daunting challenges. In 1987, among those enterprises which kept separate accounts, the production of the big and medium-sized enterprises only grew by 82.6 percent over the previous seven years though their number increased 108.52 percent. Small enterprises, meanwhile, were up 144.19 percent in output value but their number rose by only 26.9 percent. In 1988, labour productivity of big and medium-sized enterprises was 40 percent higher than the national average, mainly because the scramble for raw materials, energy, and transportation between township-owned enterprises and big and medium-sized enterprises hindered the development of big and medium-sized enterprises.

During the exhibition, managers and directors of big and medium-sized factories also forecast their future development. The following difficulties were envisioned:

Lack of funds and energy, strained transportation and a hike in the prices of fuel and raw materials. Of these problems, funds are considered the most serious. With the improvement of the economic environment and the rectification of economic order beginning from the later half of last year, banks have limited the growth of money supply, an action which has made many enterprises hungry for circulating funds and in serious arrears with their debt payment.

The soft domestic market. This is especially true for household electrical appliances. The soft market has increased stocks. By the end of August, stocks had grown by 29.3 percent over the same period last year. The slow-selling commodities and inability to recover investment have undoubtedly augmented the enterprises difficulties.

State administration and share of interests in companies are unclear. There is too much unreasonable administrative interference in enterprises. For example, the Kailuan Mine is a mine whose output is under the state's

unified distribution plan. All coal from this mine is regulated and assigned by the state. The price is also set by the state. However, 40 percent of the materials needed by Kailuan can not be provided by the state, and has to be bought at high prices. As a result, the coal price per ton is nearly 10 yuan lower than the cost. Kailuan's losses in this manner are quite common in the coal industry. Of the 16 mines among the 100 biggest enterprises, nine operate at loss. Even for the non-deficit mines, it is found that their profits are far lower than other enterprises of the same scale.

These difficulties have drawn the attention of the government. Recently, leaders of the State Council stressed that efforts should be made to bring into play the driving role of the big

and medium-sized enterprises, and that necessary measures should be adopted to support their development. This move has amplified the confidence of entrepreneurs.

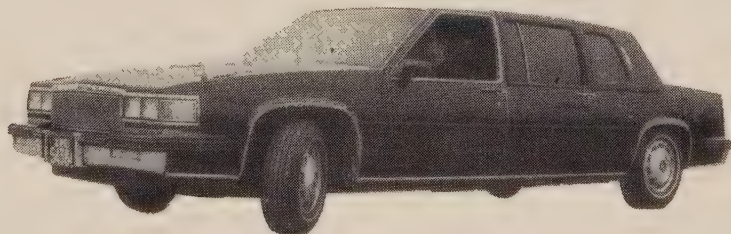
Many entrepreneurs believe that the way to animate enterprises and get them out of the difficult situation lies in the deepening of reform. Li Huazhong, the general director of Anshan Iron and Steel Co., said that the contract system had proven itself workable in big and medium-sized enterprises, and that although various problems occurred, the policy should not be radically changed but instead improved. The present national economy, he said, was just like a truck climbing a slope at low gear. If the gear was disengaged, it perhaps might stall forever.

Entrepreneurs generally sup-

port a strengthened macro-economic control by the state. In industrial policy, priority support should be given to backbone industrial enterprises and the current policy favouring regions should be replaced by support for specific industries, the equal competition should be ensured and there should be a change in the unfair competition between big and medium-sized enterprises and small enterprises. Through fair competition, the dominance of big enterprises will be fully developed and some unnecessary small enterprises will be eliminated. Enterprise groups should be formed by merger and incorporation in order to promote the reasonable division of production among enterprises and ensure their healthy development.

□

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A Review of the Development of US-Soviet Relations

Zhuang Qubing

The announcement by US President George Bush that he would hold "an interim informal meeting" with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev aboard warships in the Mediterranean Sea in early December came as a surprise to the world. In September, after a breakthrough in arms control talks between US Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Wyoming, a Bush-Gorbachev summit had been scheduled to take place in the spring of 1990.

The timing of their first meeting since Bush became president was moved up because the rapidly changing international situation created the need for a reassessment of their relations. Some foreign policy analysts note that since US-Soviet relations have never been isolated in world affairs, a new detente is likely, one that will be deeper and broader than that of the Reagan era.

New approaches

Bush initiated a new policy toward the Soviet Union as soon as he moved into the White House. Moving beyond containment, it sought to usher the Soviet Union back to the international community. But the recent developments in the Soviet domestic situation and in the Eastern Europe encouraged the president to go further. In his speech to the UN General Assembly on September 25, he expressed his satisfaction with the Baker-Shevardnadze talks. At a news conference two days later he hinted that an agreement on reducing strategic arms could be signed at the spring summit.

The Wyoming meeting had touched upon a wide range of topics, including arms-control, regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral relations. Major obstacles to a series of arms-control agreements were swept away. Both sides agreed to disconnect the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) from discussions on space-based anti-missile weapons, submarine-launched cruise missiles and mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles.

*C*loser relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are in the interest of both countries.

There are also minor agreements on the verification of nuclear tests and chemical weapons. Baker and Shevardnadze made progress on the issue of conventional weapons in Europe, a goal that seems easier to reach in the wake of unilateral Soviet troops cuts.

Mutual Benefits

Closer relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are in the interest of both countries.

Soviet reforms are stymied by economic problems and ethnic turmoil. The country was shocked this summer by widespread coal miners' strikes. The 1989 budget deficit is expected to reach 10 billion roubles, while

military spending is up to 77.3 million roubles, accounting for 15.6 of the Gross National Product. During the first nine months of the year national income increased by only 2.4 percent while the money supply soared by 17 percent. It is against this background that the Kremlin is eager to improve relations with the West and attract foreign investment to ensure the survival of its economic reforms.

Soviet economic planners want to cut the military's share of the GNP by one third to one half by 1995, and the Kremlin is prepared to make more concessions in order to reach an agreement in arms talks. It has given up its attempt to link the Star Wars anti-missile system and submarine-based cruise missiles to START and has promised to dismantle its anti-ballistic missile radar in Krasnoyarsk, which American hardliners had cited as a violation of the ABM treaty between the two countries. Going further along this track, the Soviets not only applauded Bush's call for "open skies"—the right of each side to use aircraft to monitor each other's activities—but also put forward their own proposals for open continents, seas and even space.

It is clear that Gorbachev's "new thinking" in diplomacy has paid off in changing the long-term impression of Soviet belligerence. Sympathy for the Soviet Union is growing in the US Congress and legislators who advocate cutting the US military budget are gaining influence. These developments could lead to the scrapping of Star Wars.

Apart from the impact of the

"new thinking" in the United States, the Soviet reforms have won goodwill in Western Europe. This has allowed the Kremlin to exploit economic and foreign policy conflicts between the United States and its West European allies to patch up its relations with Western Europe.

During the Baker and Shevardnadze meeting, the United States not only agreed on a summit in near the future but also retreated from its position that the Soviets should not deploy mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles before the United States.

Washington seeks detente because it believes that what is happening in the Soviet Union, and particularly in Eastern Europe, provides the United States a historic opportunity. Its view is that the current situation can be used to contain Soviet expansion while promoting reform in all of these countries.

However, Washington is not ignorant of the fact that these countries are still overshadowed by Soviet military strength and that East European reform will follow a zigzag course. Therefore, it has acted with caution in helping these countries. Its current policies toward Poland and Hungary are strictly within the range of Soviet tolerance. And, more often than not, joint action with Western Europe is taken.

Washington is anticipating more from *perestroika* (restructuring). According to Baker, the successful Soviet reform will make the country less belligerent and more tolerant of democracy. Baker notes that *perestroika* is far wider ranging than the reforms tried by former Soviet leaders — it aims to bring about a fundamental change in the social system.

Problems Remain

Even though there is a trend toward improved US-Soviet rela-

tions, differences in their basic interests put stumbling blocks in the path of detente.

Next year's formal summit is expected to result in agreements of profound significance. Shevardnadze has said the decision to hold the summit confirmed that the two sides now had more in common in dealing with bilateral and international issues. He said the meeting would not only result in a START agreement and two protocols on a nuclear test ban, but also pave the way for talks on reducing conventional arms in Europe.

However, a new arms race based on quality rather than

Differences in their basic interests put stumbling blocks in the path of detente.

quantity is under way between the two superpowers. This will inevitably create difficulties in future arms talks. A Soviet official announced in June that the Kremlin had earmarked 4 billion roubles for a military space program. While Soviet arms negotiators were making compromises with their American counterparts on anti-ballistic missile systems, Soviet vice foreign minister Victor Karpov insisted that any pact on strategic weapons must be directly linked to the 1972 ABM treaty. He pointed out that if the US side violated the ABM treaty, the Soviet Union would have the right to withdraw from START.

It appears that the two superpowers have a tacit agreement on the matter of Eastern Europe. A *New York Times* report said that Moscow gave its approval for political and economic reform in Poland and Hungary and Western

economic aid to them in return for an American promise not to drive the two countries out of the Warsaw Pact. The newspaper also disclosed that Baker had assured Shevardnadze again and again that the reason the United States was fueling East European reform was to reach "stability" through a gradual easing of political tensions. The Soviet foreign minister emphasized in his UN speech this September that the Soviet Union also sought stability and this goal would not change even though it may sometimes go against Soviet interests and the "big family" to which the Soviet Union belongs.

In spite of the patience and cooperative attitude of the two big powers, the situation is changing so rapidly in Eastern Europe that it may upset the European balance of power and thus change the Yalta settlement that has worked since the end of World War II. Even Washington, which is looking toward peaceful evolution toward capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, is worried that the situation could get out of control. Dr. Henry Kissinger has appealed to each side to maintain the current military pattern in order for a gradual easing of tensions.

A new detente between the two superpowers will inevitably exert influence on other countries and areas in the world. Japan, for example, is worrying about the outcome. Some Japanese analysts have pointed out that the Wyoming meeting heralded a complete US-Soviet reconciliation in the future. As soon as the Soviet Union ceases to be the main threat to the United States, these analysts believe, Washington would unilaterally withdraw from the US-Japan Security Treaty, thus ending the US-Japan military alliance. Given the current trade conflicts between Washington and Tokyo, this would be profoundly disturbing to Japan. □

Busy Life of China's "Harvard" President

by Xiang Qiufei

She is always in a big hurry. A heavy daily schedule keeps Xie Xide, professor of physics and former president of Fudan University in Shanghai, shuttling between the university's Physics Building and the mansion that houses the Center for American Studies, her chairwoman's office in the Municipal Political Consultative Conference (MPCC) and her husband's ward in Huadong Hospital.

A medic nursing Cao Tianqin, Xie's husband, revealed a "secret": Whenever she is in the city, Xie must be in the room around 4:30 pm, helping her ailing husband with supper. No exceptions.

Prof. Xie Xide (left) always takes time for heart-to-heart talks with her students.

"President Xie" — people in Fudan University still prefer her former title — "you are reportedly familiar with American sport stars of the 1940s," a visitor to the hospital asked.

"Yeah, those of baseball. When I was a student in America, I was a devoted baseball fan. Once an American friend came to see me and we talked about baseball. He happened to favor the same team as I did, so just imagine how glad we were!"

Maybe she did not want to talk much about herself, or she simply treasured the brief time with her husband so much that she turned to Cao. "Do you remember my favorite baseball team during our college days in the

States?" Xie whispered tenderly.

Though weak, Cao nodded and smiled.

"Well, which one?" she asked.

"Red Sox!" Cao gave the name in English.

"That's because they wore red socks, right?"

The husband nodded again earnestly, happily remembering the time when they studied abroad.

According to her colleagues, Xie makes use of every minute in her work by giving concise speeches and instructions, but she is strikingly generous with her time with foreign visitors. The rich variety of topics covered often runs from high-tech to education to movie stars or sports heroes.

Casual, natural and friendly conversation is an art Xie performs well in international society. She has a profound understanding of the social and cultural mindset of the West. She is quite aware that people in the United States and Europe have their own values and concept of justice. She does not think it wise to communicate with them the

WANG ZIJIN



way Chinese communicate with each other.

Xie often opens her discussions with foreigners by smartly referring to something that arouses their sympathy and interest. In such a warm atmosphere, she has been able to reach official agreements for international exchange programs without formal negotiation.

"I'm sorry. I'm afraid I must go to a meeting now," she apologized to her husband.

Cao acquiesced.

"I'm leaving, okay?" Xie walked a few steps to the door and turned around to wave at Cao. At the doorway she turned her head again for a last look at her husband, and left in hurry.

Xie seems to have an endless list of tasks to fulfill.

Before China's Xinhua News Agency publicly disclosed the facts of the Tiananmen incident, letters from different countries poured in to Xie's office. Some asked her whether any troops were stationed on the Fudan campus; some were concerned about her personal safety, and still others demonstrated the writers' rage.

On the following Sunday, Xie responded at home to all of the people who had written to her. She understood that most of them bore no ill will towards China. Indeed, some of those who displayed their anger had earlier made great contributions to the Sino-US friendship. With considerable patience and her own honesty, she tried to correct their misunderstandings.

To the sharpest critics, she shot back without any hesitation: Doesn't a sovereign state have the right to deal with what happens within its own territory? Should China be ruined by nationwide turmoil?

No doubt, China can afford no more disturbances. Thanks to the stability of the recent years, the number of foreign institutes that

have links with Fudan has doubled from 30 to more than 70. These intellectual connections, the result of the policy of opening to the outside world, have not only saved China much foreign currency, they have also enhanced goodwill by extending exchanges from the governmental to the people level. Xie has done her part.

Because of her painstaking efforts, she is popular with her American counterparts and some American newspapers even referred to her as the "President of China's 'Harvard'." Her fruitful visits before last June paid off with a tariff-free aid project worth several million US dollars. It was for the construction of both the Center for American Studies at Fudan and the operating-room and foreigners' in-patient department at the Sino-American Friendship Hospital in Shanghai.

However, in the post-June agitation for "economic sanctions" against China, this aid project was also put in jeopardy.

In the scorching heat of last July, Prof. Xie Xide, member of the Party Central Committee and chairwoman of Shanghai's MPCC — a typical senior Chinese official — arrived in the United States after a long, tiring flight. She was invited, as a celebrated scholar, to attend an international academic conference in Hawaii.

Would Xie chat with her American friends about movies and baseball in her free time? Would she urge more friends to continue to contribute to Sino-American friendship?

Yes. And she returned with a pledge from the American side to continue the aid project, a symbol of the American people's friendship.

Everything went smoothly and Xie eventually presided over the inauguration ceremony for the Center for American Studies at

her university.

Unfortunately, her intense work schedule finally took its toll and she was admitted to the same hospital as her husband. But even this hospitalization was hasty and temporary. She soon left and got on board another flight to France for an international conference of university presidents.

Time flies and the swallows have again migrated to the south. As Zhu Ziqing, a leading modern Chinese essayist, has written: "Swallows have gone, but they will return; leaves have fallen and trees will be green again; when the bygone days have faded away like clouds sheared by gentle breeze, what have I left as traces of my life?"

High up in the sunny sky, President Xie's international flight roared away, leaving jet smoke floating in the shape of a huge bridge above the distant horizon. □

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Urgent Research on Aging

by Guo Yuanfa and Tao Lique

Gerontology, the study of aging, has taken on a new urgency in China as an ever larger proportion of the population survives past age 60.

According to standards set by the United Nations, an aging nation is one where 10 percent of the population is 60 or older, or where 7 percent is 65 or older.

The increase in the number of the elderly citizens has been faster in China than in developed countries. In 1953, China had 41.53 million elderly people. By 1982, that number had increased to 76.53 million. In 1987, it was up to 91.54 million, accounting for 8.47 percent of the total population.

It is estimated that the number of elderly Chinese citizens will be about 130 million at the end of the century, accounting for 11 percent of the total population. Thus China will become an aging country before becoming a comparatively well-off one. This clearly illustrates the need for research on all aspects of aging.

On April 20, 1986, China's Association for the Study of Aging was founded. In May of this year it convened a conference during which experts analyzed the problem of how the elderly are supported and considered the feasibility of establishing a social security system for the elderly and raising old-age pensions.

Gerontologists in Beijing, together with experts from the Beijing municipal government, have studied the increase in the senior population, forecast trends and proposed a strategy that has tacitly become part of the overall plan for the capital

region's development.

In April of this year another study group was established, the Research Center for Science of the Aged. Its main tasks are: to study trends among the elderly population and provide a scientific basis for the study of the problems of the aged; to examine the economic impact of the growing elderly population; to coordinate gerontological research among sociologists, demographers, economists, biologists and medical doctors; to work out long- and short-term research plans, and to consolidate academic contacts and international cooperation.

International contacts have increased greatly in recent years as many countries grapple with the problem of aging populations. According to statistics from China's National Commission on the Aging Problem, 16 delegations visited the country in 1988 while five Chinese delegations went abroad. At the end of this year, the Commission will send four investigative teams to Japan, the Soviet Union and Hong Kong.

In 1987, 50 countries and areas were officially designated as having aging populations. In Western countries such as Austria, Britain,

Denmark, Ireland, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland, the population aged 60 and above accounts for more than 15 percent of the total. Some Western demographers have cried out in alarm that the whole European continent will be "covered with grey hair" in the 21st century.

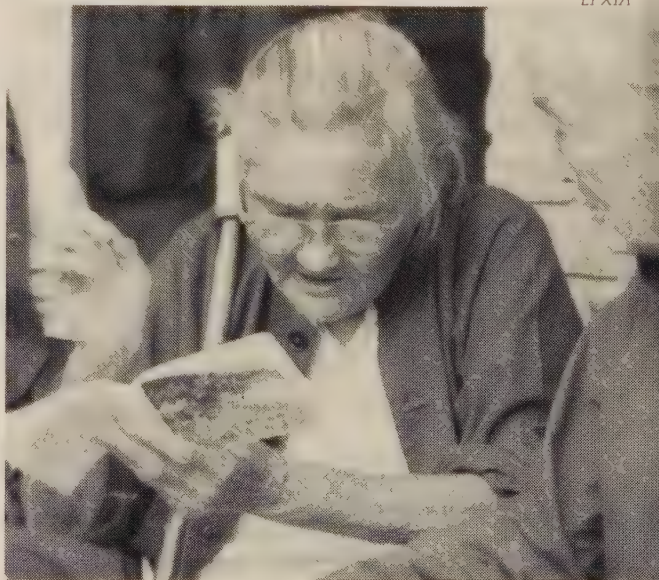
After a conference in May of 1985, the American Association of Science on the Aged established a bilateral relationship with its Chinese counterpart to exchange research material, books and magazines, and pledged to make further academic contacts.

The United Nations takes an interest in China's research on aging. Last year the world body offered US\$60,000 to help the National Commission on the Aging Problem carry out research work in Guizhou Province in southwestern China.

This year the United Nations decided to provide the Commission with US\$600,000. The funds will be used by the Research Center for Science of the Aged to purchase equipment, books and research material and to train personnel. □

Yuan Xushi, 88, is a resident of a home for the aged in Beijing.

LI XIA



Retired Teacher Finds Ways to Help

by Zhou Hongqi

Every morning, hundreds of old people come to the Temple of Heaven park to practice *qigong*, shadow boxing or listen to their pet birds. Chen Houpei, however, has other things on his mind. The 76-year-old retired English teacher, now a volunteer in the Jingdu Art Shop at the Temple of Heaven, is trying to find new ways for the elderly to spend their time.

Leaning against the outside wall of the shop, Chen looks no different than any other older man. But, when foreigners approach, he is able to describe the background of traditional Chinese handicrafts in fluent English.



Chen Houpei at the Jingdu Art Shop.

DONNA MALONEY

Life Is to Give

After he retired in 1981 from Beijing No. 41 Middle School, Chen felt rather lonely, especially because his three daughters lived away from home and his wife, an accountant, had to work. But then he was elected secretary-general of the Association of Retired Cadres that was organized by the Scientific Society of Eastern Beijing.

In his new post he helped to arrange for some retired engineers to design a four-storey dormitory building in Jiangxi Province. He also arranged spring outings and theatrical festivals for the cadres.

"I want to keep myself busy," Chen said. "I want to do things I like and things useful to society."

In the association, with the help of his friends, Chen started a program called "Assisting Self-Taught People" to help citizens across the country learn English, Russian, German, French and

Japanese through correspondence. And the students, of course, were not charged.

The organizers were praised by the Ministry of Education (now the State Education Commission) in a letter saying: "We support your activity, and if you need any help you can consult with the local government."

But the local government did not offer any assistance because, it said, it had no funds for the new program. Then, at the end of 1982, many teachers left and the program came to an end after its two-year existence.

After that, Chen was authorized by the local government to set up a University for the Elderly in Eastern Beijing for the study of painting, calligraphy, literature and *qigong*.

In the summer of 1985, under the hot sun, the old students went into the streets to sell their paintings and calligraphy and contributed all of their earnings to Africa.

"When I do something I like, I always forget my age. Because I know life is to give, not to take," Chen said. "Many people think only that if people eat well, play well and live a longer life they will be happy in their old age. But that is only one side of things, another is for them to do something for society."

During Spring Festival in 1985, Chen and some other elderly students went to the Temple of Earth to write and sell Spring Festival couplets. His first customer was a foreigner.

Foreigners showed great interest in the couplets, Chen said. "A lady from the United States waited for two hours for me to compose and write a pair of couplets for her to take back to her hometown."

Introduce Chinese Culture

Since then, Chen has felt a responsibility to introduce the rich Chinese culture, particularly

acupuncture, *qigong*, martial arts and cooking, to foreigners "because many of them are crazy about all four."

He went to serve as a volunteer in the Beijing Foreign Language Book Store on Wangfujing Street, where he helped to improve the shop assistants' English and discussed Chinese culture with foreigners.

China has a history of more than 5,000 years and its cultural heritage belongs to all the people of the world, Chen said. "We should do our best to introduce it to the outside world and find a better way to improve cultural exchanges between China and other nations. It's profitable for both sides."

The retired teacher regards *Science and Civilization in China* by British writer Joseph Needham as a good introduction to Chinese culture but "it's a pity that there are few such books published as yet and one should have been written first by a Chinese instead of a foreigner."

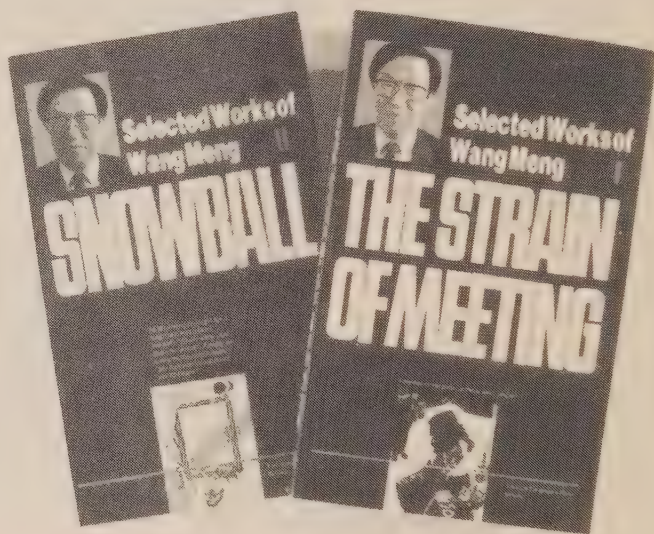
He thinks that Chinese people should help foreigners get to know China by every means, but today's young interpreters know very little about Chinese culture, although they speak English very well. For example, they are seldom interested in Beijing opera, while many foreigners are eager to learn more about it. So Chen often goes to theaters with foreigners and explains the stories to them.

In April of 1988, he began to work at the Jingdu Art Shop where traditional Chinese handicrafts are sold. "It's a good place for foreigners to learn the history of Chinese culture," he always tells to the young shop assistants. Every morning he comes to talk with foreigners. He may tell them about the special architectural style of the Temple of Heaven or say, "Pottery can be divided into various kinds but the black pottery can be found

only in China, where it has been developed for 7,000 years."

Though the shop earned almost 2 million yuan (about US\$570,000) in foreign exchange

for the country in one and a half years, Chen has done none of these things for money. He is just looking for new ways for the elderly to pass their time. □



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Co-operative Programme for Enterprises

A foreign co-operative programme for small and medium-sized enterprises over the next few years has been mapped out by China. Enterprises are encouraged to use factory equipment and advanced technology provided as investment by foreign investors to produce new products needed on the international market.

Under the programme, foreign co-operation in light industry will be geared on the development of small batches of export products, with a diversified variety and delivery at scheduled times.

For high-grade locking tools and leather shoes, the plan is to import technology and equipment to improve the quality of products through the establishment of joint ventures and co-operative enterprises. Also, it is expected to support the export of screw nuts and iron nails by processing with both imported materials and local raw materials.

The programme asks companies to develop comprehensive or multi-purpose toys for export by importing technology and funds. For household electric appliances, the emphasis will be placed on making good use of imported technology of the past few years to increase the proportion of domestic component. The plastic industry will be encouraged to co-operate with foreign countries in manufacturing precision moulds to process products with imported materials.

The emphasis of textile industry will be placed on importing technology and equipment for cotton spinning, silk dyeing and printing, colour spinning, electronics and automation to settle present weak links in China's technology.

Under the programme, however, priority will be given to co-operation with foreign countries

in the precision chemicals in chemical industry. Meanwhile, there will be a limit set on imported and co-operative projects for machine-building, electric and building materials industries. □

High-Tech Products Of Syntone Group

The Beijing Syntone Group Co. has succeeded in developing a ST-Marcopolo integrated software product. The system is capable of optical character recognition, English-Chinese translation and Chinese character laser printing and so has received much attention both at home and abroad. The potential buyers in the United States, Japan, Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong are anxious to purchase them. At the 1989 Chinese Character Computer Fair held in Singapore in October this year, for example, this software was well received by clients. Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew was among those who viewed the performance of the software.

The Syntone Group Co. is one

of the well-known high technology groups located in the Zhongguanchun New Technology Development Zone in Beijing. Since it was set up five years ago, Syntone has turned out 90 key scientific and technological projects, 7 of which are up to international standards. The super microcomputer ST-286H produced by the company in November 1988, for instance, won the project bidding put out by the World Bank. To date, the company has exported US\$2.4 million worth of products. The ST-IMS-88 model ion mass spectrometer made in August 1988 is under state patent. Some science and instrument and meter companies in the United States, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany have expressed an interest in co-operation with the company.

Syntone has also developed a new computer, the syntone-newsystem/1000, which is specially designed to calculate mathematical formula and machine expression. The new computer's function provides one-quarter or one half of a giant computer's functions at only 10 percent of the cost.

by Wei Liming

Research workers at the Syntone Company with the advanced ST- Marcopolo computer system.

XUE CHAO



Thriving Economy and Trade in Suzhou

Foreign trade in Suzhou City, Jiangsu Province, has been thriving over the past few years, according to the Foreign Economic, Technology and Trade Symposium held in Suzhou in mid-November. The purchasing value of products for export this year is expected to reach 4 billion yuan.

As one of the key cities of China's coastal open economic zones, Suzhou, located in Changjiang (Yangtze) River Delta, has a 2,500-year history. It boasts ten big industries—silk, textiles, light industry, food-stuffs, electronics, machinery-building, chemicals, medicine, metallurgy and building materials, and more than 14,700 industrial enterprises. The city's total industrial output value in 1988 came to 40 billion yuan, the fourth largest after Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin. The purchasing value of the products for export was 3.3 billion yuan.

Since China implemented the policy of opening to the outside world in 1978, foreign economic, trade and technological exchanges in the city have expanded. To date, more than 2,000 products were exported to more than 100 countries and regions. Silks and satins, precision machine tools and medical apparatus and instruments, farm and sideline products, and local and special products, for example, have enjoyed brisk sales on the international market. Moreover, silk export makes up more than one-third of the country total.

In the past decade, Suzhou quickened its steps in the use of foreign funds to import technology. A total of 459 projects using foreign funds have been approved, involving US\$320 million. Of this, 213 are foreign-funded enterprises. Investors are from a dozen or so countries and

regions such as the United States, Japan, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Singapore and Hong Kong.

Suzhou offers many opportunities for foreign economic and technological co-operation, ranging from construction projects to aid foreign countries to contract projects, labour co-operation, technological services and the establishment of overseas enterprises.

The city's electric fan factory, TV set factory, meter and instrument component factory and the Changshu Polypropylene Fibre Factory, for instance, have established overseas joint ventures in Thailand, the United States and Malaysia.

by Zhang Wei

News in Brief

□ On November 8, the results of the international bidding for three sets of large loading and unloading equipment for the second-stage construction of the Beicang Harbour in Ningbo, Zhejiang Province were announced. According to the judgement, out of dozens of international companies joining the tender arranged by the World Bank, an Argentine company, a Japanese company and an Italian company were chosen.

The second-stage construction of the Beicang Harbour will be divided into two stages. In the first stage, three 30,000-50,000-ton deepwater berth wharves, including China's first international container special berth wharf, are planned for construction. Some cranes, large gantry and front loading ones needed in construction, will be purchased through international bidding. They are valued at more than US\$10 million. The first-

stage construction is expected to be completed by 1992.

□ In early November, the establishment of the Inspection Services International PTE Ltd., jointly financed by the China Import and Export Commodity Inspection Corp. (CIECIC) and the Singapore Trade Development Board Holdings (TDB Holdings) was approved in Singapore.

This is China's first joint venture in Singapore. The Chinese have 49 percent of the shares, the remainder will be held by Singapore.

The CIECIC is responsible for inspection of Chinese import and export commodities. China's aim in setting up such a joint venture in Singapore is to promote trade between the two countries and to provide Sino-Singapore trade and international trade activities with good inspection and services. The business scope includes products and commodity inspection, container and ship inspection, damage surveys, documentation and consultancy.

□ On November 10, the China Small and Medium-sized Enterprises Foreign Information Service Centre was established in Beijing. The centre, through the country's products' information, foreign economy and technology co-operation network for small and medium-sized enterprises, will use a macro-economic data base, the state laws and regulations base, products data base and foreign co-operation projects data base for small and medium-sized enterprises to provide clients both at home and abroad with consulting services. The centre will answer inquiries about technology co-operation information and check enterprise creditability, products' reputation, investment environment, co-operation feasibility, market information and special investigations. □

University With No Campus

Even though it has no campus of its own, the Chinese Correspondence University of Calligraphy and Fine Arts has turned out about 40,000 graduate students in the past five years.

Traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy have a history of several thousand years and have long been considered as being among the essential skills of a cultured person. But many adults never had the opportunity to get advanced training in this field. The correspondence university gives them that chance.

It was established in 1984 by an academic group involved in the study of traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy. All of the operating funds come from tuition fees, despite the fact these are the lowest charged by any correspondence university in Beijing.

Although its administrative system appears relaxed, the university closely monitors the work of students and teachers. Courses last for three years, after which there are strict graduation examinations. A panel of established scholars and professors checks whether a student is qualified to receive a university certificate.

To display its accomplishments, the university recently exhibited about 500 paintings, chosen from the works of its 1985 graduates, at the China Art Gallery in Beijing. Huang Runhua, dean of the Department of Traditional Painting of the Central Academy of Fine Arts, praised the show, saying that most of the works had reached provincial standards of excellence and some were even of national quality.

Each year more than 10,000 students attend classes at the university's satellite schools in

the provinces. Altogether there are 3,000 full-time and guest teachers. The guest teachers have included more than 100 noted artists, scholars and professors. Other guest teachers have been retired cadres or middle-aged and elderly artists and calligraphers. All of these teachers are motivated by the desire to make a contribution to education in China.

The teaching staff has compiled more than 100 kinds of textbooks and 60 instruction videos with titles such as *An Introduction to Calligraphy*, *Aesthetics of Calligraphy*, *History of Calligraphy* and *Theory of Painting*.

Chen Mingli is a good example of the dedication of the teachers. An instructor at the school's branch in Zhaotong in southwestern China's Yunnan Province, Chen has taught traditional Chinese painting for 50 years. Since he became dean of the Department of Traditional Chinese Painting, he has put all of his

energy into his work. He has been known to walk more than 70 kilometres to give personal lessons. This kind of devotion to his work has won the respect of Chen's colleagues and students.

The students treasure their opportunity to study, even though most have full-time day jobs and have to study at night. They must also save money for tuition fees and study supplies such as paper and ink.

Shi Yu of Tianjin has loved painting since she was a young girl but the "cultural revolution" deprived her of the opportunity to go to art school. So she became a bus conductor. For more than ten years she studied painting in her spare time before becoming a student at the university.

For three years she studied the theories and techniques of traditional Chinese painting. Her graduation work was selected to be shown at the China Art Gallery exhibition. Now she is a member of the Tianjin Young Artists' Association and continues her studies at the night school of the Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts.

The students, apart from pur-

Professor Alao (second from right) appreciated the work of the 1985 graduates of the university.



suing their painting, also try to serve society. For example, three students at the branch in Wuli-an County, Shandong Province, went to a remote village to write Spring Festival couplets and scrolls for local farmers. All three students were in their sixties and their deed greatly moved the villagers.

Lu Qinxuan, a student from Kaifeng, Henan Province, is more than 70 years old but in the past three years he has taught thousands of people in 15 training courses. He not only gives free tutoring but has also spent several thousand yuan on running the classes.

Hong Xisheng of Changzhou, Jiangsu Province, suffered a concussion in a car accident ten years ago and could not work. So he became a student of the university. He not only studied hard

but also helped to run the local branch of the university and eventually became a teacher at the local branch of the university there.

One overseas Chinese visitor was so impressed by his masterpiece *Longevity* that he invited him to lecture in the United States. Hong did more than just lecturing; he held exhibitions and set up calligraphy and painting classes.

The Chinese Correspondence University of Calligraphy and Fine Arts is also drawing the attention of more and more foreigners. The schools at Beijing, Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Xiamen all have foreign correspondence students. The university sends teaching materials to them, checks their homework and answers their questions through the mail.

by Zhong Qin

Eighteen-month Yi Solar Calendar Discovered

An 18-month solar calendar used by the Yi people of southern China has been discovered during research by the Chinese scholar Liu Yaohan, himself a member of the yi nationality.

The discovery came while Liu and his colleagues were working in a village in the Chuxiong Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province. There they learnt from a local astrologer named Yong Ziming that since ancient times astrologers there had used the 18-month solar calendar in their work.

Each of the 18 months contains 20 days, for a total of 360. As one year has 365 days, the five left over are used as "New Year Celebration Days."

Western scholars have long believed that the Mayan people of Central America were the sole creator of an 18-month solar calendar. But it was difficult to be-

lieve that such a primitive civilization could develop an advanced scientific calendar more than 6,000 years ago. Some even speculated that the Mayan people were the descendents of an ancient "astronaut."

One-man Comedy Captivates Beijing Audience

X*iju* (comic play), an art form unique to Sichuan Province in southern China, is performed by only one actor in the local dialect of Sichuan.

Although the actor or actress plays a fixed role from the beginning to the end, he or she has to make the audience believe that there are other characters on the stage. This typical Chinese art form blends the realistic method of drama and the symbolic approach of traditional Chinese op-

During tentative study, Liu and his colleagues found great similarities between the Yi and Mayan calendars. For example, the Mayan called the last five days of the year "Religious Days" whereas the Yi named them "New Year Celebration Days." This provided new clues for further study of the relations between the Yi and the Mayan cultures.

In 1981, Liu and his colleagues discovered a ten-month Yi solar calendar in the same region. Study has shown that this calendar has a history of more than 10,000 years, making it one of the oldest calendars in human civilization.

The discovery of the 18-month solar calendar helped Liu make an even more significant scientific judgment. He said that the 18-month Yi and Mayan calendars were the only solar calendars still in existence today, and that they both predate the ten-month solar calendar. The 18-month calendar was the source of the ten-month solar calendar, he said.

Astronomical History of the Yi Nationality, a special work on the ten-month solar calendar, co-authored by Liu Yaohan, Chen Jiujin and Lu Yang, has been published. □

era.

Li Yanfei, a traditional Chinese opera actress from Sichuan, displayed the extraordinary charm of *Xiju* during her recent performance in Beijing.

Li, now in her thirties, is a well-known member of the Chuanju Opera Troupe in Sichuan and has more than 20 years of experience on the stage. At the end of 1986, she began to study *Xiju* under Wang Yongsuo, the creator of *Xiju*.

Since then she has created

many humorous and lovable images, such as the cold-faced shop assistant in *Selling Shoes* and the child-spoiling mother in *Sneeze*, who carries her child to hospital for treatment because it sneezed. Many other *Xiju* plays like *The Key*, *Sister-in-Law*, *Sister Huisheng* and *Miss Spring-dream* won the love and praise of the Beijing audience for their creativeness and vitality.

The first *Xiju* play was created

in 1939 when Wang Yongsuo performed *Selling Plaster*. Today *Xiju* has become a popular art form in Sichuan, with the rise of female performers in recent years adding a new dimension. *Xiju* plays are characterized by simple, vivid presentation without much in the way of props or sets, which may guarantee popularity at a time when traditional operas and dramas are losing favour with the public. □

Bulgarian Pantomime Troupe in China

The Gabrofo Pantomime Troupe from Bulgaria recently visited Beijing, Yinchuan and Hohhot as part of the 1989-90 Sino-Bulgarian cultural exchange programme.

Reputed to be the best of its kind in Bulgaria, the Gabrofo Pantomime Troupe has won many international awards and visited many countries, including the Soviet Union, Romania, The German Democratic Republic, Switzerland and Canada. All the members of the troupe are amateur actors and actresses,

drawn from the ranks of factory workers, office employees, artists, engineers and other fields.

The programme they brought to China included works titled *Choice*, *Clowns*, *Hole*, *In the Swimming Pool*, *In the Gymnasium*, *In the Clinic*. *Choice* was poetic and philosophical. The main characters in the drama were named *Human*, *Two Lovers*, *Birds* (symbolizing hope) and *Spider* (symbolizing evil). Set at a point in endless time and limitless space, human is always accompanied by the struggle be-

tween good and evil. Human matures in the process and struggles to create a beautiful world without war and violence. *Clown*, in contrast, was characterized by its comic and naive flavour. It extolled love and friendship, bringing people to a wonderful fairyland. The clowns—startled, wronged, saddened, angered, naughty and happy—were all warm and lovable. The other pantomimes made deep explorations of the human psyche. The Chinese audiences were entranced by the troupe's performances and the theatres were filled with applause and laughter.

"We feel honoured that Chinese audiences appreciated our performances, for China is the home of pantomime," one Bulgarian performer said in summing up the thought of his colleagues.

During their China tour, the Bulgarian artists also had contact with several Chinese troupes. In Beijing, they co-operated with pantomime performers from the China Youth Art Theatre to present the pantomime sketch *In the*

A scene from the pantomime sketch "In the Clinic" jointly presented by Bulgarian and Chinese actors.



Clinic. In Yinchuan, capital of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, they were entertained with *Local Customs of Xixia* (Western Xia Dynasty), performed by the Song and Dance Troupe of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, and Beijing opera sketches presented by the local Beijing Opera House.

The Bulgarians were captivated by the Chinese arts. One actor so liked Beijing opera that he asked a Chinese actor to make up his face like that of a typical clown in Beijing opera.

by Fena Jing



A Family Courtyard.



Walnut Forest.

ART PAGE

Woodcuts by Zhou Zhiyu

Zhou Zhiyu was born in Linfen city, Shanxi Province in 1957 and now teaches at the Central Academy of Fine Art. He specializes in black-and-white woodcuts and attaches primary importance in his works to his conception and sense of beauty.



Fox in Forest in Autumn.



A Courting Couple at Dusk.

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